

FINAL REPORT

of the

DELEGATES OF INDIA

to the

SEVENTH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY

of the

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1020)

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FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE SEVENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1926).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

My Lord,

We beg to submit our Final Report on the proceedings of the Seventh (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva from 6th to 25th September 1926, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. In our Interim Report we gave a description of the work of the session and added our own conclusions and comments. Having dealt there at some length with the admission of Germany and with the increase and method of election of non-permanent Members of the Council, we have only inserted in this Report^{*} the Resolutions adopted by the Assembly on these subjects. We also commented in the Interim Report on the more important points raised in the general debate of the work of the Council, and have therefore merely reproduced in the Appendices to this Report some of the more interesting speeches delivered during the debate, including that of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, which will be found in Appendix III. For convenience of record, we have included the names of all the delegates at this Assembly, which will be found in Appendix I; the names of the officers appointed by the Assembly to control its business; a list of the agenda and of the Committees to which the various items were referred and the text of the resolutions adopted on their recommendations. Where necessary, as for instance in the case of the Slavery Convention, we have added a more detailed account of the proceedings than consideration of space permitted in our Interim Report. The record of resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Assembly is taken from the official journal published by the League of Nations (Special Supplement No. 43, October 1926).

Verification of Credentials and Appointment of Officers of the Assembly.

3. Upon reports submitted by the Committee on Credentials appointed by the Assembly on 6th September, which included His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, the credentials of the representatives of the Members of the League were found in good and proper form. The Assembly appointed an Agenda Committee, consisting of seven Members, and, in accordance with Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure adopted by the First Assembly (1920) and the decision taken by the Seventh Assembly on 8th September, a General Committee was constituted as follows :—

- (a) The President of the Assembly.
- (b) Six Vice-Presidents, elected by ballot by the Assembly.
- (c) The Chairmen of the Six Committees and *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Assembly.
- (d) The Chairman of the Agenda Committee.
- (a) *President*: His Excellency Dr. Momtchilo Nintchitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom) was elected President of the Assembly.
- (b) *Vice-Presidents elected by ballot*: Sir Austen Chamberlain (British Empire); M. Briand (France); Viscount Ishii (Japan); M. Scialoja (Italy); M. Figueroa (Guatemala); Baron Lehmann (Liberia).
- (c) *Chairmen of the Committees and ex-officio Vice-Presidents of the Assembly*: M. Motta (Switzerland); Mr. Fitzgerald (Irish Free State); M. Villegas (Chile); M. Titulesco (Roumania); Count Mensdorff (Austria); M. de Brouckère (Belgium).
- (d) *Chairman of Agenda Committee*: Dr. Urrutia (Colombia).

Appointment of Committees and Distribution of Agenda.

4. The Assembly appointed six main Committees, on which each delegation appointed one or more representatives. (Only one representative of each delegation

* See paras. 5 and 9.

can take his seat at a time, but alternation of representatives for discussion of different subjects is permitted.) The following questions were referred by the Assembly to the various Committees for consideration and report:—

FIRST COMMITTEE.

Constitutional and Legal Questions.

1. Method of election for, and tenure of, the non-permanent seats of the Council.
- *2. Examination of certain questions relating to the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.
- *3. Numbering of the paragraphs of the Articles of the Covenant.
- *4. Interpretation of the Preamble, and of Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant. Proposal of the British Delegation.

SECOND COMMITTEE.

Technical Organisations.

1. Work of the Health Organisation.
2. Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit (including* the question of facilities for journalists attending meetings of the League at Geneva).
3. Work of the Economic Committee.
4. Work of the Financial Committee.
5. Financial reconstruction of Austria.
6. Financial reconstruction of Hungary.
7. Work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.
8. Work of the Greek Refugees Settlement Mission.
- *9. Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees.
10. Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

THIRD COMMITTEE.

Reduction of Armaments.

1. Arbitration, Security, and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.
- *2. Work of the Preparatory Committee for the Reduction of Armaments.
3. Supervision of the private manufacture of Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War.

FOURTH COMMITTEE.

Financial Questions.

1. Audit of Accounts and Budget of the League, and other Financial Questions.
- *2. Contributions in Arrears.

FIFTH COMMITTEE.

Social and General Questions.

1. Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.
2. Work of the Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People: (a) Traffic in Women and Children; (b) Child Welfare.
- *3. Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.
- *4. Questions concerning Armenian and Russian Refugees.
- *5. Settlement of Armenian Refugees.
- *6. Extension to other analogous categories of Refugees of the measures taken to assist Russian and Armenian Refugees.

SIXTH COMMITTEE.

Political Questions—Mandates, Slavery.

- *1. Mandates.
- *2. Slavery Convention.
- *3. Ratification of Agreements and Covenants concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.

* These items were added, by the decision of the Assembly, to the provisional agenda circulated to Member States on 6th May 1926, having been proposed for discussion during the session of the Assembly by the Council or by individual States Members.

Nomination of Germany as a Permanent Member of the Council. (Increase of Non-permanent Members of the Council.)

5. The following Resolutions were adopted by the Assembly on 8th September without reference to a Committee:—

I. The Assembly approves the Report of the First Committee of the Special Assembly on the request of the German Government for admission to the League of Nations.

II. The Assembly approves the proposals put forward by the Council in its Resolution of 4th September 1926, regarding (a) the nomination of Germany as a Permanent Member of the Council; (b) the increase in the number of non-permanent seats, which should be brought up to nine.

We reproduce in Appendix IV the speeches delivered by M. Briand (France) and Herr Stresemann (Germany) on the occasion of Germany's admission to the Assembly.

Election of the Non-Permanent Members of the Council.

6. By the process described in para. 31 of our Interim Report, the Assembly, on 16th September, elected Belgium,¹ Chile,³ China,² Colombia,² Czecho-Slovakia,¹ Netherlands,² Poland,³ Roumania,³ and Salvador¹ to be non-permanent Members of the Council.

The Assembly also declared Poland re-eligible for election to the Council on the expiry of her present term of three years.

The Question of Alcoholism.

7. As mentioned in para. 42 of our Interim Report, a proposal was made to the Assembly by the Finnish, Polish, and Swedish Delegations concerning alcoholism, which is reproduced in Appendix II of this Report. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 21st September on the proposal of the Agenda Committee:—

The Assembly decides to adjourn to the next session of the Assembly the proposal made by the Finnish, Polish, and Swedish Delegations concerning alcoholism.

Subjects referred to First Committee (Legal and Constitutional Questions).

Chairman : M. Motta (Switzerland). *Representatives of India* : Sir Edward Chamier, Sir Basanta Mullick.

RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

8. As explained in para. 21 of our Interim Report, the Assembly, on the 8th September, referred to the First Committee for preliminary consideration a draft scheme for the election and method of tenure of non-permanent seats proposed by the Committee on the Composition of the Council, with the direction that its report on the subject should be presented as early as possible. The draft scheme was considered by a Sub-Committee, which, after an exhaustive discussion, drew up rules of procedure based upon it. The draft rules were considered by the First Committee, and a series of minor amendments were adopted. Of these, the most important was an amendment empowering the Assembly at any time, by a two-thirds majority, to decide to proceed, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. This proposal, which was made by the Norwegian Delegation, was intended to ensure that the Assembly could deal with the case of a Member who, profiting from the fact that unanimity is required for decisions of the Council, might hereafter adopt obstructive tactics.

9. The text of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 15th September, on the recommendation of the First Committee, is as follows:—

Article I.

The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council. They shall be elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly.

Should a non-permanent Member cease to belong to the Council before its term of office expires, its seat shall be filled by a by-election held separately at the session following the occurrence of the vacancy. The term of office of the Member so elected shall end at the date at which the term of the Member whose place it takes would have expired.

Article II.

A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoilt votes.

The Assembly may not decide upon the re-eligibility of a Member except upon a request in writing made by the Member itself. The request must be handed to the President of the Assembly not later than the day before the date fixed for the election; it shall be submitted to the Assembly, which shall pronounce upon it without referring it to a committee and without debate.

The number of Members re-elected in consequence of having been previously declared re-eligible shall be restricted so as to prevent the Council from containing at the same time more than three Members thus elected. If the result of the ballot infringes this restriction to three Members, those of the Members affected which have received the smallest number of votes shall not be considered to have been elected.

Article III.

Notwithstanding the above provisions, the Assembly may at any time by a two-thirds majority decide to proceed, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. In this case the Assembly shall determine the rules applicable to the new election.

Article IV.—Temporary Provisions.

1. In 1926, the nine non-permanent Members of the Council shall be elected by the Assembly, three for a term of three years, three for a term of two years, and three for a term of one year. The procedure of the election shall be determined by the General Committee of the Assembly.

2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast. Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented. Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes, in excess of two-thirds of the votes cast, shall alone be declared re-eligible.

3. The according in advance in 1926 to one, two or three Members elected at that date of the quality of re-eligibility shall not affect the Assembly's right to exercise in the years 1927 and 1928 the power given by Article II in favour of other non-permanent Members retiring from the Council in those years. It is, however, understood that, if three Members already possess the quality of re-eligibility, the Assembly will only exercise this power in very exceptional cases.

EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

10. We mentioned in our Interim Report that the Norwegian Delegation had raised in the Assembly the question of the desirability of applying to the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council the system of the single non-transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation. The suggestion was originally made in a memorandum addressed by Viscount Cecil (British Empire) to the Committee on the Composition of the Council. The Norwegian Delegation pointed out in the First Committee that a single transferable vote had been in use for two generations now for elections to the Danish Senate, and had recently been adopted in Ireland and South Africa. Applied to the election of non-permanent Members of the Council it would ensure the individual freedom of the Members of the Assembly and full geographical, political and intellectual representation on the Council of the whole world. This was less likely to be secured by election on a majority vote.

On 25th September the Assembly, on the recommendation of the First Committee, adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly requests the Council to instruct the Secretariat to study the system of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general in connection with the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, in order that this question may be laid before the next Ordinary Session of the Assembly.

Assembly
Resolution
(25 Sept.)

NUMBERING OF THE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT.

11. Mr. Latham (Australia), speaking in the Assembly, suggested that the present method of printing the Covenant without numbered paragraphs, which causes some difficulty for purposes of reference, might be improved if the paragraphs were numbered. The First Committee adopted Mr. Latham's proposal without discussion. In the Assembly M. Scialoja (Italy) pointed out that care would have to be taken to avoid numbering the paragraphs in such a way as to necessitate renumbering every time the Covenant was amended by the addition of a paragraph. It was, however, agreed that this difficulty could be overcome. On 21st September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to cause the paragraphs of the Articles of the Covenant to be numbered in all future editions published by the Secretariat.

Assembly
Resolution
(21 Sept.)

INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES 3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT:
PROPOSAL BY THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

12. We have mentioned in para. 47 of our Interim Report the lengthy discussions which took place in the First Committee regarding Viscount Cecil's proposal, in a speech reproduced in Appendix IV, that the Assembly should endeavour to define the limits of the sphere of action of the League, with a view to avoiding attempting to deal with subjects which are not of international scope. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report of the First Committee on these discussions, together with the memorandum on the subject submitted to the First Committee by the British Delegation. As stated in our Interim Report, the speech of M. Barthélemy (France), who was appointed *rapporteur* to the Assembly, showed that the French Delegation was not altogether in agreement with the views of the First Committee. M. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia), seeing that an agreement was unlikely to be reached, proposed that the question should be postponed for consideration at the next Assembly. The following Resolution was adopted on 25th September by the Assembly:—

The Assembly decides to adjourn to its next ordinary session the consideration of the draft resolution on this subject proposed by the First Committee.

13. Two other subjects which are referred to in our Interim Report were discussed in the First Committee without any report to the Assembly. The Norwegian Delegation proposed that the Secretariat should be requested to prepare as complete a statement as possible of undertakings at present in force between States for obligatory resort to a judicial or friendly settlement of disputes. The proposal was eventually withdrawn, as the mover was convinced by the Committee that the proposed compilation would entail immense labour, and that the substance of the information was already on record in existing publications. On the proposal of the Netherlands Delegation, the report of the Committee of Experts on the Codification of International Law was referred for consideration in the First Committee. The Netherlands Delegation was of opinion that the Committee had taken up too wide a range of subjects, and there were other complaints which are mentioned in para. 51 of our Interim Report. But as other delegations appeared to be satisfied with the progress of the work of the Committee and deprecated any interference with it, it was eventually decided that a copy of the minutes of the discussion should merely be sent to the members of this Committee for their information.

14. The First Committee was consulted by the Third Committee (Reduction of Armaments) regarding the text of the resolution which it ultimately adopted on Arbitration, Security and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. We refer to the discussion of the subject in the First Committee in our record of the work of the Third Committee.

Subjects referred to Second Committee (Technical Organisations).

Chairman : Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Irish Free State). *Representatives of India* : Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, and Sir Basanta Mullick.

HEALTH ORGANISATION.

15. We have already mentioned in our Interim Report (paras. 55-58) what was done in this Committee to secure a budget grant for the expenses of the Singapore Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence. We reproduce in Appendix III the speech made in the Committee by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar on this subject. Steps have been taken by the Health Organisation to have copies of this speech circulated to the health administrations of Eastern countries. The Second Committee also expressed considerable interest in the possibility of further research by the Health Committee into questions of infant mortality, physical hygiene and nutrition, while approving the work which was reported to be in progress in the various Commissions working under the direction of the Health Committee. All these questions are dealt with in the report on the Health Organisation, which is reproduced in Appendix II of this Report. The Committee decided that proposals for undertaking further work should not be adopted until they had also been considered at the forthcoming meeting of the Health Committee, which would have to decide if their cost could be met out of the budget provision for the Health Organisation.

16. On the recommendation of the Committee the Assembly adopted, on 24th September, the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly:

I. Having taken note of the reports dealing with the work of the Health Organisation, notes with satisfaction the growth and increasing usefulness of that work, with its tendency to universality;

Expresses its gratification at the work undertaken and the results obtained by the Health Committee and its organs as well as by the various experts entrusted with special missions, and wishes to express its sympathetic interest with the scientists of the International Commission on Sleeping Sickness who are conducting their sometimes dangerous enquiry in Equatorial Africa.

II. Notes with satisfaction the close collaboration established with the sanitary and medical authorities of Japan as a result of the interchange and the conferences held in that country, and with the sanitary administrations of other Far-Eastern countries, through the intermediary of the Advisory Council of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau of the League at Singapore;

Notes, in particular, the plan of research work and special enquiries into health problems of the Far East in which the administrations of British India, China, the Dutch Indies, French Indo-China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Siam have promised their assistance;

And requests the Council to refer the resolutions proposed by the Cuban,* Czecho-Slovak† and Uruguayan‡ Delegations to the Health Committee for consideration.

III. In view of the importance of the work of the Singapore Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence as the first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East, and in view of the utility of its work not only for the Far-Eastern countries but also for other States Members of the League,

Decides that provision for the expenses of the Bureau should be made in the Budget of the League for 1927.

WORK OF THE ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT (INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF FACILITIES FOR JOURNALISTS ATTENDING MEETINGS OF THE LEAGUE AT GENEVA).

17. As mentioned in para. 67 of our Interim Report, the discussion of the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit was largely taken up in considering the possibility of holding the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit in a country outside Europe, and preferably in South America. The first of these conferences was held at Barcelona, and the second at Geneva. The Committee realised that, on account of the additional cost which would have to be made for transport of the Secretariat staff, the proposal was likely to be opposed in the Fourth Committee (Financial Questions); but in the opinion of the majority there were great advantages in holding this particular meeting outside Europe, as one of the most important subjects to be discussed was the possibility of establishing a better *liaison* in questions of transit between extra-European States. A resolution expressing the hope that, should the Fourth Committee consider it possible to grant the necessary credits, the Council would convene the conference in a town outside Europe was adopted by the Committee. The Fourth Committee, however, was unable to approve the additional expenditure involved, and the proposal was dropped.

18. In the Assembly the Chilean Delegation had raised the question of additional facilities for journalists when crossing the frontier to attend meetings of the League at Geneva. This question was referred for consideration in the Second Committee, where attention was drawn to the discussions at the Geneva Passports Conference, 1926, on the possibility of dispensing with passports for journalists furnished with identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists. The Passport Conference had decided that passports could not be dispensed with, even for those engaged on official missions to the League. On the other hand, it had been unanimous in recommending that visas, when required, should be provided gratuitously. The Committee, realising that the question had already been considered by an expert conference, felt that it would be useless to pass a resolution in favour of more liberal treatment. We reproduce in Appendix II of this Report the Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the whole subject.

* The Second Committee, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly at its fifth and sixth ordinary sessions on the subject of infant mortality and the protection of children, requests the Council to ask the Health Committee to consider to what extent it could, at a suitable time, enlarge its scheme of international enquiry to include other problems of eugenics.

† The Second Committee, considering the importance of physical culture as a means for preventing disease and in view of the interest which numerous countries take in that question, asks the Council to instruct the Health Committee to consider the inclusion in the programme of its work of the international investigation of physical culture, including scholastic hygiene, and to decide what special problems may necessitate a comparative study and a co-ordination of national research work and national enquiries.

‡ The Second Committee, having taken note that the International Economic Conference's plan of enquiry is to include an examination of the problem of nutrition, points out the interest which would attach to the supplementing of this enquiry by a study of the problem from the standpoint of race improvement. This study should take into account, in particular, the work of the Health Organisation regarding infant mortality, as well as the reports by the Japanese Institute of Research into Nutrition Problems included in the publications of the Health Committee.

19. Among the questions before the Organisation for Communications and Transit is that of the Reform of the Calendar. A special Committee has been appointed to study this question, representative of various religious and economic interests. It has now issued a report on the various schemes submitted to it. One is to divide the year into four equal quarters, each of two months of 30 days and one of 31 days, an extra day outside the normal week being added to the last quarter (two in leap year). Another is to divide the year into 13 months, each of 28 days (with an extra day for leap year). The advantages and disadvantages of the various proposals are discussed in the report, which is intended to provoke public discussion before the League considers the question officially. Another proposal is to fix Easter on the second Sunday in April.

20. On the 25th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

I. Notes the progress accomplished by the Organisation for Communications and Transit since the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly; and especially the success obtained by the European Conference on the Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation and the Conference on the Passport Regime;

Trusts that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will be held in 1927 and which will examine in particular the general questions of organisation and documentation, will consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical liaison between the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administration and experts of non-European countries; and

Notes, finally, the conclusion of the work of the Special Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar, and associates itself with the findings and suggestions made by the Advisory and Technical Committee.

II. Desiring that all possible assistance should be given to journalists attending the meetings of the League at Geneva,

Takes note of the liberal statements made at the time of the Passport Conference with regard to the facilities for crossing frontiers to be granted to bearers of identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations.

WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

21. The Annual Report of the Economic Committee drew special attention to a draft Convention on abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions which had been circulated to the Governments of States Members, and the replies received from Governments and commercial organisations. It was recommended that a conference similar to that held in 1923 on customs formalities should be convened as early as possible to conclude an international agreement on the subject. We reproduce in Appendix III a speech of Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in which he declared India's readiness to discuss the question at a conference, when certain amendments of the draft Convention which the Government of India considered necessary would be proposed. The Committee's report also described the progress in the ratification of the International Convention relating to the Simplification of Customs Formalities and of the Protocol relating to Commercial Arbitration. Various suggestions have been made for giving compulsory effect to arbitral awards made under the terms of the Protocol, and the Committee felt that the Protocol would have been more widely ratified if an agreement on this question had been reached. The Committee is studying further the question of introducing subsidiary provisions providing for compulsory enforcement of arbitral awards. It is also continuing its study of the questions of false customs declarations and economic crises and unemployment. The report draws attention to discussions at The Hague in October and November 1925 for the revision of the International Convention of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property, with special reference to the method of punishment of unfair competition. It appears that, as a result of suggestions made by representatives of the Economic Committee, some definite improvements in the latter Convention were adopted by the Conference. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic Committee.

22. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 24th September :—

The Assembly :

1. Again states its conviction that commercial relations would be greatly improved by the conclusion of an international convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions.

Notes with satisfaction the progress which has been made, thanks to the efforts of the Economic Committee, towards the realisation of the recommendation made by the Assembly at its ordinary session held in 1924.

Notes the Council's resolution to convene, for this purpose, at as early a date as possible, a Conference of representatives of the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, and expresses the most earnest hope that the work of this Conference will be crowned with success.

2. Notes with satisfaction that the Protocol established in 1923 is still making its influence felt in the direction of a wider recognition of commercial arbitration and that the Economic Committee has recently begun to consider the possibility of preparing an additional Act, the object of which will be to ensure the execution of arbitral awards given abroad.

3. Records the fact that the number of ratifications of the International Convention for the Simplification of Customs Formalities is increasing, and notes that this international Act has had a beneficent influence on the conclusion of certain treaties of commerce.

4. Observes with satisfaction that most of the methods suggested by the Economic Committee to ensure more effective protection against unfair competition have been embodied in the new provisions of the Convention of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property revised at The Hague in November 1925.

5. Follows with interest the enquiries being conducted by the Economic Committee with regard to measures for the repression of false Customs declarations; the standardisation of legislation with regard to bills of exchange and cheques; the unification of economic statistical methods; the protection of the buyer against worthless goods; and the Committee's research work regarding the causes of excessive fluctuations in economic activity.

WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

23. The Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee is reproduced in Appendix II. The following Resolutions were adopted by the Assembly on 24th September:—

The Assembly:

I. Has taken note of the Financial Committee's two reports on the restoration of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig.

Assembly
Resolutions
(24 Sept.).

It trusts that, in accordance with the conclusions of these reports, it may be possible for the Financial Committee, when the Free City has effected the necessary administrative and budgetary economies, to recommend the issuing of a loan designed to consolidate the financial and economic situation of Danzig.

II. Has noted that, at the request of the Council, the Financial Committee has undertaken a study of the methods whereby the Governments and Banks of Issue might collaborate to prevent the issuing of counterfeit currency.

It trusts that the Financial Committee's work will be actively pursued, so that practical proposals may be submitted to the Council for consideration at the earliest possible date.

III. Has taken note, according to the Financial Committee's reports, of the results of the work of the last meeting of experts on double taxation and tax evasion.

It trusts that their work will be continued and will serve as a useful preparation for the development and progressive unification of international law on the matter, by means of general conventions or of partial conventions based upon common principles.

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

24. The Committee expressed gratification that the functions of the Commissioner-General for Austria had terminated on 30th June 1926, and that in spite of economic difficulties still remaining the Council had been able to consider that its functions in controlling Austrian finance were now no longer required. We reproduce in Appendix III a speech of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir on the subject. It was also reported that the financial control exercised in Hungary had been brought to an end on 30th June 1926. On the 24th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions on the subject:—

The Assembly:

I. Has taken note of the Council resolution of June 9th, 1926, whereby the functions of the Commissioner-General for Austria were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926;

Assembly
Resolutions
(24 Sept.).

Is gratified that Austria has been able to reassume full responsibility for her budgetary and financial policy;

Does not doubt that the Austrian people and the Austrian Government will, by their own efforts, be able finally to ensure the results of the work of reconstruction;

And expresses its thanks to the countries which have helped Austria with their credit and thus made possible a great act of international co-operation.

II.—(1) Notes that, the Council having ascertained that the financial stability of Hungary is assured, the functions of the Commissioner-General were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926, and that with this step the work of reconstruction has been brought to a successful close within the minimum period contemplated under the original plan;

(2) Congratulates on this result the Hungarian Government and people, the Commissioner-General and the Financial Committee, which prepared the original plan. It confidently hopes that, by a prudent financial policy, the Hungarian Government will in the future maintain and consolidate the satisfactory position now attained;

(3) Observes with satisfaction the conclusion of commercial agreements between Hungary and the neighbouring States with whom about half of her total foreign trade is transacted; and regrets the hope expressed at the last ordinary session of the Assembly that the further progress of such commercial agreements may tend to bring about a progressive reduction of the tariffs in Central Europe, thus contributing to establishing closer economic relations.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

25. The idea of convening an International Economic Conference under the auspices of the League originated in a proposal of the French Delegation at the

Sixth Assembly.¹¹ The intention was that there should be a general international discussion of world economic conditions with two main objects in view:—(1) To explore every possible means of reducing the possibility of economic friction between nations, and (2) constructively, as another aspect of the same question, to consider the most effective methods of restoring general economic prosperity. The Sixth Assembly having approved the French Delegation's proposal, the Council appointed a Preparatory Committee, of which Sir Atul Chatterjee was invited to be a member, to collect information for use at the full Conference and to prepare a draft programme.

26. The Second Committee heard a full statement from the Chairman, M. Theunis (Belgium), of the work so far accomplished. The Committee had been faced with the difficulty of having to cover an enormous extent of ground; two types of mind had been represented: first, one which considered it necessary to make a complete survey of existing economic conditions with a view to isolating particular phenomena worthy of special study; secondly, one impatient of the idea of a preparatory survey, which wished to start straight away with a list of the problems which seemed to be of primary urgency and importance, and that only these should be explored. The Committee had taken the former course. It had set up three Sub-Commissions, the first to deal with questions of agriculture and finance, the second with industrial protection, the third with commerce and marketing problems. Sir Atul Chatterjee is a member of the first Sub-Commission. M. Theunis explained that the list of subjects at present under discussion would have to be narrowed down at the next meeting of the Committee to a specific agenda. Certain questions were likely to be included which were not wholly international in character, but there was a precedent for this in the method of procedure of the Economic Committee of the League, which had successfully organised the Conference on the Simplification of Customs Formalities and was proposing a new one on the question of the suppression of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. Two other questions had to be considered, viz. the date of the Conference and the composition of its members. It was difficult to forecast the date, which would have to depend on a favourable atmosphere as regards financial and monetary conditions, since certain desirable economic measures of an international character, which might be acceptable in a period of stabilisation, would never be carried into practice if submitted to the world at a time when exchanges were seriously disorganised. As regards composition, the suggestion had been made by M. Hymans (Belgium) in a report approved by the Council of the League that the Conference itself should not be strictly governmental in character, but rather an assembly of experts similar to those who attended the Brussels Financial Conference, 1920, with freedom to put forward a programme and doctrines not necessarily to be embodied immediately in international agreements.

27. In the course of the subsequent discussion M. Loucheur (France) expressed a fear that the Conference might develop into a sort of academy of economics. He himself desired a conference of Government representatives with power to achieve something definite. Baron von Rheinbaben (Germany) strongly supported the proposals of M. Theunis. He argued that, while many persons would agree that intensive industrial nationalisation and exaggerated industrial protectionist policies must be combated in order to obtain a division of labour amongst the nations in conformity with the conditions of production, it would not be possible for a Conference to dictate the exact manner in which such general principles should be applied. Commander Hilton-Young (British Empire) considered it was indispensable for the Conference to maintain the character of a meeting of experts and to confine itself to examination of economic points of view capable of universal application, avoiding questions of a domestic kind. He was supported by Mr. Latham (Australia) and by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir, whose speech is reproduced in Appendix III. M. Loucheur hoped that the Conference would be able to meet in the spring of 1927; other delegates preferred to leave the date, as suggested by M. Theunis, to the discretion of the Preparatory Committee. An agreement was eventually reached in terms which are explained in the Report of the Second Committee, drafted by M. Loucheur, which is reproduced in Appendix II. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 21st September:—

The Assembly notes that the Council has given effect to its decision of December 15th, 1925, by constituting a Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.

* See Final Report of Indian Delegation to the Sixth Assembly, para. 23.

It realises that the general economic situation of the world calls more imperiously than ever for an effort towards international co-operation and makes it yet more necessary that the Economic Conference should be held.

The Assembly therefore hopes that the Committee will actively push forward its work so as to enable the Economic Conference to be convened as soon as possible.

WORK OF THE GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT COMMISSION.

25. We described the main features of the report of this Commission in para. 54 of our Interim Report. A more detailed account appears in the Report of the Second Committee, which is reproduced in Appendix II. The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on the 21st September:—

The Assembly:

1. Has learnt with satisfaction that the work of settlement effected in collaboration between the Greek authorities and the Settlement Commission set up under the auspices of the League has made continuous and satisfactory progress during the past year within the limits of the available funds, which are now nearly exhausted; Assembly Resolution (21 Sept.)

2. Observes that this piece of work is attaining the results expected of it. More than half of the 1,400,000 destitute refugees who have entered Greece have been assisted to establish themselves and have become productive citizens. Apart from the humanitarian significance of the scheme, it is having permanent beneficial results in strengthening the economic life of the country and in promoting social stability;

3. Expresses the hope that conditions may be such that the money required may become available in due course for the completion of this work, which has progressed successfully under the League's auspices and the results of which have amply justified the association of the League with it.

SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES.

29. As a result of an application from the Bulgarian Government to the Council of the League, protracted negotiations have been conducted by the Council this year with a view to raising a loan of £2,250,000 to enable the Bulgarian Government to settle some 120,000 refugees. These negotiations were successfully concluded, shortly before the Assembly session, with the concurrence of the Governments of the countries adjoining Bulgaria. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report of the Second Committee proposed by Commander Hilton-Young (British Empire), and in Appendix III a speech in the Second Committee by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir. On 24th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly:

1. Has learnt with great satisfaction that the negotiations of the last six months have resulted in the adoption by the Council of a scheme for the settlement of some 120,000 refugees in Bulgaria. Assembly Resolution (24 Sept.)

2. Observes with satisfaction that, by means of an advance of £100,000, this work has already been begun.

3. Expresses the hope that the total sum estimated for this work, namely, £2,250,000, may be successfully subscribed in the near future.

4. Desires to express its appreciation of the valuable work once more done by the Financial Committee, on whose advice the plan was adopted by the Council, and whose long and unique experience in such work of reconstruction has borne fruit in Austria, Hungary and Greece.

5. Expresses the belief that the execution of this plan will not only alleviate widespread suffering, but will also benefit economic and social order within Bulgaria, and consolidate and improve the political relations of Bulgaria with neighbouring countries.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

30. We mentioned in paras. 59-61 of our Interim Report some of the points raised in the discussion in the Second Committee of the work of this Committee. We reproduce in Appendix III the speeches of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Sir Ramaswami Ayyar on this subject. A suggestion made by the Austrian delegate is worthy of mention, that the Council and the Governments of Member States should be asked to consider the establishment of scholarships rendering it possible for students to stay in Geneva during the meetings of the Assembly in order to follow the work of the League of Nations. Delegates of various countries, including Australia, Serbia and Italy, described the arrangements made in their countries to facilitate attendance by foreign students at University courses. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report of the Second Committee on the League's work in Intellectual Co-operation. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the 21th September:—

The Assembly:

1. Approves the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as at present constituted—with the International Committee and its sub-committees, the National Committees and the International Institute. It considers that this organisation now provides a mechanism capable of strengthening the intellectual relations between nations and of improving the conditions of intellectual work in the world. It notes Assembly Resolution (21 Sept.)

with satisfaction the assurance given by the Governing Body of the International Institute to the effect that that institution is so conducted as to ensure perfect equality of treatment between all nations. It draws the attention of all the members of the Assembly to the felicitous step taken by Poland and by Czecho-Slovakia, which, following France's generous action, have granted a subsidy to the International Institute.

Further, wishes to emphasise the practical character and the expediency of the plans for international intellectual co-operation which the Committee and the Institute are, at the present moment, proceeding to carry out. It lays particular stress on the importance of the following plans: the convening of a Congress of Popular Art; the creation of an International Museums Office; the union of libraries of all countries in order to facilitate research by the public; the co-ordination, by means of international collaboration, of the analytical bibliographies of the various sciences.

II. Having considered in its Second Committee the report of the Sub-Committee of Experts on the instruction of children and youth in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, urges the Governments of the States Members of the League to give this report their sympathetic consideration and to take the measures necessary to give effect to all or any of its recommendations which may be found suitable for adoption in their respective countries,

III. Invites the various States to consider, and asks the competent institutions to examine, the possibility of establishing scholarships for university students, whereby they would be enabled to visit Geneva both before and during the annual Assemblies, in order to obtain first-hand knowledge of the work of the League of Nations.

Subjects referred to the Third Committee (Reduction of Armaments).

Chairman: M. Villegas (Chile). *Representatives of India*: Sir William Vincent, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and Sir Edward Chamier.

ARBITRATION, SECURITY, AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

31. The Committee was called upon to consider reports made to the Assembly by the Council, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the Sixth^a Assembly (1925), on the various declarations and proposals made with a view to settlement of international disputes, and on the progress achieved from the point of view of security by the conclusion of separate conventions and treaties. It was decided to discuss these reports simultaneously. M. Markovitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom) considered that the report made on the progress in conclusion of separate agreements was too optimistic. The Locarno agreements, which had greatly improved the situation in one part of Europe, needed to be supplemented by similar agreements between other groups of States. It was necessary to draw some conclusion from the agreements already concluded for guidance of other States contemplating similar agreements, in fact to replace the somewhat *a priori* Protocol for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes adopted by the Fifth Assembly (1924), which had not been ratified, by a set of principles derived from the existing agreements and capable of general application. It was argued by M. Paul-Boncour (France) that this procedure was likely to weaken the value of the Protocol adopted in 1924, which had in fact inspired the Locarno agreements and might continue to inspire other similar agreements. M. Lange (Norway) was somewhat doubtful of the possibility of creating a network of separate agreements sufficiently wide to cover possible cases of dispute throughout the world. Moreover, he thought the collection of agreements made by the Council of the League was incomplete, as it only included those registered at Geneva. Ultimately, M. Markovitch was appointed *rapporteur* to the Assembly, after a draft resolution proposed by him, in which he combined the various points of view expressed, had been discussed and adopted by a Sub-Committee. The report drafted by M. Markovitch and adopted by the Third Committee is reproduced in Appendix II. It presents the political aspect of the questions referred to the First and Third Committees, and succeeds in harmonising the various points of view expressed in the discussions, which at one time threatened to conflict.

32. The following Resolution proposed by the Third Committee was adopted by the Assembly on 25th September:—

The Assembly:

Having examined the reports of the Council on Arbitration, Security, and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes,

Records the fact that the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session to the effect that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations has had definite results. It sees clear proof of this in the ever-increasing number of arbitration conventions and treaties of security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Geneva Protocol (Arbitration, Security, and Disarmament). It emphasises in particular the importance of the Treaties of Locarno, the coming into force of which has

Assembly
Resolution
5 Sept.).

^a See Final Report of Indian Delegation to Sixth Assembly, para. 10.

been rendered possible by the admission of Germany into the League of Nations, and the principal object of which is to ensure peace in one of the most sensitive regions of Europe.

Sees in the last-mentioned Treaties a definite step forward in the establishment of mutual confidence between nations,

Considers that agreements of this kind need not necessarily be restricted to a limited area, but may be applied to different parts of the world,

Asserts its conviction that the general ideas embodied in the clauses of the Treaties of Locarno, whereby provision is made for conciliation and arbitration and for security by the mutual guaranteeing of States against any unprovoked aggression, may well be accepted amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilised nation,

Expresses the hope that these principles will be recognised by all States, and will be put into practice as soon as possible by all States in whose interest it is to contract such treaties,

And requests the Council to recommend the States Members of the League of Nations to put into practice the above-mentioned principles and to offer, if necessary, its good offices for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security—the indispensable conditions of the maintenance of international peace—and, as a result, to facilitate the reduction and limitation of the armaments of all States.

33. The First Committee, which had agreed to deal with the legal aspects of the question in so far as they presented themselves, after considering separately the terms of the Third Committee's draft resolution, decided not to present a separate report. Two questions arising out of the terms of the resolution provoked some discussion. First, M. Erich (Finland) desired words to be inserted in the resolution to indicate that the Assembly was not committed to the acceptance of the interpretation of Article 16 of the Covenant with reference to Germany's obligations which had been agreed upon by the other signatories of the Locarno Treaty (see para. 8 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Special Assembly (March 1926)). He mentioned that the Assembly had discussed, but rejected, an amendment of Article 10 of the Covenant in the interests of Canada (see para. 12 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fourth Assembly). It was undesirable that Article 16 should be weakened at the bidding of a particular group of States. Finally, it was agreed that, without indicating any opinion on the correctness of the interpretation of Article 16 by the Locarno Powers, M. Motta (Chairman of the First Committee) should mention in the Assembly the difficulties felt on the point by the Finnish Delegation. Secondly, M. Rolin (Belgium) wished to insert in the resolution a reference to the desirability of concluding agreements providing for compulsory acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as provided in the optional clause of the Statute of the Court (Article 36). This proposal could not be accepted by the British, Indian, Canadian, Australian and Venezuelan delegates. The British Empire delegates pointed out that the whole question of their attitude toward the optional clause was to be examined at the Imperial Conference, and meantime they could not accept a formula prejudging the issue. The Venezuelan delegate stated that his Government also had not yet determined its attitude as regards the optional clause. In these circumstances M. Rolin withdrew his proposal. M. Motta, speaking in the Assembly on 25th September, supported, on behalf of the First Committee, the adoption of the resolution proposed by M. Markovitch, but added an explanation of the objection of the Finnish Delegation to acceptance of the Locarno interpretation of Article 16.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

34. Acting on a resolution of the Sixth² Assembly, the Council had constituted a Preparatory Committee for an International Conference on Reduction of Armaments, to which the United States of America and Russia had been invited to send representatives as well as various States Members of the League. The United States had accepted the Council's invitation, but Russia had declined, owing to political objection to attending a conference held in Switzerland. M. Loudon (Netherlands), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, explained to the Third Committee its plan of work and the progress made. The whole question was new to the League, and a very large range of questions had to be studied. Two main Sub-Committees had been constituted, one for technical military questions and the other for questions of economic and civil import. The task of the Technical Committee and of the various Sub-Committees appointed by it was particularly arduous. It had suspended its sessions during the Assembly, but would begin work again shortly. M. Loudon summarised the results achieved by the two Sub-Committees. He showed that the work necessarily included a review of the whole resources of States and required the most elaborate study. In fact, the Committee's investigations have already given rise to considerable

* See Final Report of Indian Delegation to Sixth Assembly, para. 10.

difference of opinion, especially between the French and British representatives, on the question of the account to be taken of non-military resources in estimating comparative strength. M. Loudon hoped that the Preparatory Committee would be able to meet again by February 1927 to receive the reports of its Sub-Committees and adopt agenda for the Conference itself, the meeting of which every effort would be made to expedite.

35. The subsequent discussion in the Third Committee was discursive, and is difficult to summarise. M. Lange (Norway) was critical of the Preparatory Committee's method of work, which he considered to involve paying too much attention to armaments as they are now and too little to what would be required when once disarmament was an accomplished fact. He was also anxious that the possibility of forbidding the use of certain objectionable types of weapon should be studied. M. Paul-Boncour (France), who is a member of the Preparatory Committee, M. de Brouckère (Belgium), and M. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia), defended the procedure of the Committee, and pointed out that M. Lange's criticisms failed to take account of realities. M. Paul-Boncour and M. de Brouckère agreed that the utility of the Conference depended on its being assembled at an early date. They wished the Preparatory Committee's next meeting to be held before the end of 1926, and the Conference to be summoned before the next session of the Assembly. The Italian representative, General Marinis, saw nothing to be gained in sacrificing thoroughness to a desire for a fixed date. Lord Onslow (British Empire) was also opposed to the Assembly laying down a time-table. The Roumanian delegate emphasised the prejudicial effect on public opinion which subsequent failure to keep to such a time-table might have. M. Paul-Boncour, who was appointed *rapporteur*, ultimately agreed to modify his draft resolution so as to take account of the objections raised by the last three speakers. The Report of the Third Committee, which we reproduce in Appendix II, was elaborated by M. Paul-Boncour in a long and somewhat provocative speech in the Assembly. In reply Lord Cecil showed that there was no real disagreement between Great Britain and France as regards the urgency of the matter.

36. The Assembly on 24th September adopted the following Resolution proposed by the Third Committee:—

The Assembly:

Takes note of the report submitted to it by the Secretariat and the very full information furnished to the Third Committee by the President of the Preparatory Commission on the work of that Commission, its technical Sub-Commissions A and B and the Joint Commission,

Expresses its complete satisfaction with the work performed and thanks those who have contributed to it; Being desirous that the investigations, in regard to which the Assembly itself took the initiative in its resolution of September 25th, 1925, should be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, it requests the Council to call upon the Preparatory Commission to take steps to hasten the completion of the technical work and thus be able to draw up, at the beginning of next year, the programme for a Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments corresponding to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and it asks the Council to convene this conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties render this impossible.

SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

37. This question, as stated in the Final Report of the Indian Delegation to the Sixth Assembly, para. 32, is complementary to that of the supervision of traffic in arms, regarding which a convention was concluded at Geneva in 1925. But it is also connected with the general problem of reduction of armaments. Though the technical work of drafting a convention on private manufacture of arms is complete, the Council has not seen fit to summon a conference for its conclusion pending further progress in the study of general reduction of armaments. The Third Committee accepted the decision of the Council, though with some reluctance. It was felt by several delegates that no progress would be made in ratification of the Arms Traffic Convention until a convention on private manufacture had been concluded. The Report of the Third Committee, which is reproduced in Appendix II, gives expression to these views, as also the following Resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly on 21st September:—

The Assembly:

Once again draws attention to the close connection which exists between the question of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war and the international trade in these articles;

Assembly
resolution
14 Sept.).

Assembly
resolution
14 Sept.).

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REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE FOURTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1923).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE VISCOUNT PEEL, P.C., G.B.E.,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

My Lord,

We beg to submit our report on the proceedings of the Fourth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on the 3rd September by Viscount Ishii, as Acting-President of the Council. After the Committee of Credentials had been constituted the Assembly elected as President M. Cosin  de la Torriente y Peraza (Cuba), who obtained 24 votes out of 45. M. Motta (Switzerland) received 19 votes. There were 49 States represented at the Assembly this year, including the Irish Free State, which was admitted on the 10th September (*see* para. 73), and Ethiopia, which was admitted on the 28th September (*see* para. 74). No representatives appeared from the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, or Peru. A list of the representatives of each State will be found in Appendix I.

3. On the same day the Assembly set up six Committees (each delegation being free to appoint a representative to each Committee), and adopted their agenda. On the 4th September the Committees elected their Chairmen, who, besides presiding over the Committees, form, together with the Assembly's six Vice-Presidents, the General Committee of the Assembly. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar was elected Chairman of Committee No. II., this being the first occasion on which a representative of India has been elected to one of these offices. We give below a list of the items on the agenda assigned to each Committee, together with the names of the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Committees and of the representatives of India who served on each. So far as possible Committees I., II., and III. met on alternate mornings and afternoons with Committees IV., V., and VI. An Agenda Committee was also appointed to examine new items proposed for the agenda.

On the 4th September the Assembly elected the following as Vice-Presidents:— Lord Robert Cecil (British Empire); Viscount Ishii (Japan); M. Hanotaux (France); Count de Gimeno (Spain); M. Fortoul (Venezuela); M. Pusta (Esthonia).

COMMITTEE NO. I.

Legal and Constitutional Questions.

Chairman: M. Motta (Switzerland); *Vice-Chairman:* Sir Lomer Gouin (Canada);
Representative of India: Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 9.—Amendments to Article 10 of the Covenant (proposed by the Canadian Government).

Item 27.—Amendments to Article 16 of the Covenant.

*Position resulting from non-ratification of amendments to the Covenant.

*Rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council.

COMMITTEE NO. II.

The Work of the Technical Organisations of the League.

Chairman: H.H. the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar (India); *Vice-Chairmen:* Baron Beyens (Belgium), M. Avramovitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes); *Representative of India:* H.H. the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar; *Substitute:* Commander C. B. Fry.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 12.—The work of the Economic and Financial Committees.

Item 13.—The work of the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit.

Item 14.—The work of the Health Organisation of the League, including the work of the Epidemic Commission.

* Subject added to the agenda during the Session.

COMMITTEE No. III.

Armaments.

Chairman: M. Skirmunt (Poland); *Vice-Chairman*: M. Vasconcellos (Portugal);
Representative of India: Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 7.—Limitation and reduction of Armaments. Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission.

COMMITTEE No. IV.

Budget and Financial Questions.

Chairman: M. Momtchilo Nintchitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes);
Vice-Chairman: M. Adatci (Japan); *Representative of India*: His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanganagar. *Substitute*: Commander C. B. Fry.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 10.—Statements by the Council and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office on new work involving new expenditure on the part of the League.

Item 11.—Deferred pay and pensions scheme.

Item 19.—The allocation of the expenditure of the League.

Item 24.—Budget for 1924, including the Budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Audit of Accounts for the fourth fiscal period (1922).

Reports of the Supervisory Commission, including the reports on the cost of living in Geneva.

Report on the general financial situation of the League.

Item 29.—Report on the erection of a hall on the property given to the League by the Canton and City of Geneva.

COMMITTEE No. V.

Social and General Questions.

Chairman: M. de Mello-Franco (Brazil); *Vice-Chairman*: Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa); *Representative of India*: Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. *Substitute*: Mr. J. Campbell.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 15.—Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs. The work of the Advisory Committee.

Item 16.—Traffic in Women and Children. The work of the Advisory Committee.

Item 30.—Reports relating to the work of the Commission of the League for the protection of women and children in the Near East.

Item 18.—Intellectual Co-operation. The work of the Committee.

Item 28.—Validity in all States, on a basis of reciprocity, of certain secondary education diplomas: establishment of an international university; institution of a higher education degree in all countries Members of the League of Nations, such diplomas being valid for all the countries in question.

Item 17.—Refugee questions. Reports by the High Commissioner.

*Relief work on behalf of Peoples overcome by disasters.

*Boy Scouts and Girl Guides: Passport and Customs facilities.

COMMITTEE No. VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman: M. Hymans (Belgium); *Vice-Chairman*: M. Titulesco (Roumania);
Representative of India: Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee:—

Item 25.—Request of the Irish Free State for admission to the League. Request of the Empire of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) for admission to the League.

Item 8.—Slavery. Report by the Council on the information received.

*Reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Item 23.—Request to the Assembly from the Lithuanian Government concerning:—

(a) The Council's Resolution of 13th January 1922.

(b) Reference of certain questions to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.

*Eastern Carelia. (Subject proposed by the Government of Finland.)

Item 22.—Protection of minorities in Esthonia.

*A Question of Procedure in regard to the protection of minorities.

Debate on the Report of the work of the Council and on certain Questions arising out of the Dispute between Italy and Greece.

4. The usual debate on the report of the work of the Council during the preceding year was not commenced till the 12th September, and Viscount Ishii then intimated on behalf of the Council the desirability of postponing any discussion regarding the dispute between Italy and Greece, which was still under the Council's examination. Accordingly, no allusion was made to the dispute until the 21st September, when Viscount Ishii announced that it had been settled, though certain questions affecting the competence of the League still remained to be considered. In the debate which ensued His Highness the Maharaja the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar made on the 22nd September a speech (*see* Appendix IV.), in which, while expressing sympathy with the indignation of Italy in regard to the murder of General Tellini, he emphasised the Assembly's belief in the complete competence of the League to insist on the peaceful settlement of disputes arising between its Members.

5. This question came again before the Assembly after the debate on the general report of the Council had been concluded. On the 28th September Viscount Ishii informed the Assembly of the decision taken by the Council, affirming in general terms the competence of the League and resolving that certain questions should be referred to a special Commission of Jurists. We refer to this subject again at the end of our Report. Viscount Ishii's statement, which is printed in Appendix II., gave rise to a debate in which eloquent speeches were made by Lord R. Cecil (defending the Council's decision), M. Branting (who would have preferred a reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice), and Dr. Nansen (who was inclined to criticise the decision). His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar made a short statement on this occasion expressing approval of the decision of the Council (*see* Appendix IV.). His remarks were received with general approbation.

6. The remainder of the debate on the general report of the Council was for the most part as discursive as in previous years. The President at the commencement reminded the Assembly of the recommendation adopted last year by the General Committee (*see* para. 5 of the Report of the Delegates of India), and asked that delegates would inform him beforehand whether they wished to take part in a general debate or in discussion of particular subjects. But this suggestion had little apparent effect, though some delegates did confine themselves to single topics. The chief speeches were made by M. Skirmunt (Poland), M. Motta (Switzerland), and Dr. Nansen (Norway). M. Edwards (Chile) spoke on the Pan-American Congress at Santiago, and drew attention to the small amounts spent on armaments by the South American States as compared with certain European countries. Professor Gilbert Murray, speaking as a representative not only of South Africa but also of 300,000 members of the League of Nations Union in England and of the League of Nations Societies throughout Europe, appealed to the League to beg the interested Powers either to bring the problem of reparations to a settlement, or, if they could not do so themselves, to lay it before the League of Nations. Dr. Nansen spoke on another occasion in the same sense. The discussion on the report of the work of the Council was closed on the 22nd September.

Election of a Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

7. On the 10th September a vacancy in the Permanent Court of International Justice was filled by the election of M. Pessoa (Brazil). His election was not unexpected as the vacancy had been caused by the death of a Brazilian judge (M. Ruy Barbosa), and M. Pessoa had been nominated by a very large number of national groups.

Procedure for Adoption of the Budget. (Subject dealt with by the General Committee.)

8. This question arose out of an incident at the Third Assembly in 1922 (*see* para. 58 of the Report of the Delegates of India), when the budget which was voted unanimously included an item that had been accepted by a majority only of Committee IV. The general question of procedure was referred to the General Committee of the Fourth Assembly which submitted a report (Appendix III.) recommending that the adoption of budgetary proposals should require a unanimous vote in the Assembly and suggesting certain guiding principles for the application of Rule 18 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure.

Subjects referred to Committee I. (Legal and Constitutional Questions).

AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 10 OF THE COVENANT.

9. Article 10 of the Covenant reads as follows :—

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.”

A Canadian proposal to strike out Article 10 from the Covenant was made at the first Session of the Assembly in 1920. It is understood that the reason of Canada's objection to the Article was that she considered that it involved an unconditional undertaking which it might be constitutionally impossible to carry out. The proposal to delete the Article was postponed by the First and again by the Second Assembly, but at the Third Assembly (1922) the Canadian Delegation no longer proposed that the Article should be deleted, but that it should be amended so as to read :—

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled, *taking into account the political and geographical circumstances of each State.*

“*The opinion given by the Council in such cases shall be regarded as a matter of the highest importance and shall be taken into consideration by all the Members of the League, which shall use their utmost endeavours to conform to the conclusions of the Council, but no Member shall be under the obligation to engage in any act of war without the consent of its Parliament, Legislature or other Representative Body.*”

The consideration of these proposals for the amendment of Article 10 had been postponed until the Assembly of 1923.

10. In the course of the Session the question was considered at two meetings of the British Empire Delegation, and Lord Hardinge suggested that a reference to constitutional authorities would suffice in place of the words referring to the Parliament, Legislature or other Representative Body.

11. In Committee I. Sir Lomer Gouin (Canada) said that the Canadian amendment would not in any way weaken the force of the Covenant since it merely aimed at introducing into Article 10 a provision recognising the sovereignty of Parliaments. The value of an interpretative resolution was thereupon discussed and a sub-Committee was appointed to draft such a Resolution.

The sub-Committee proposed the following draft :—

“It is in conformity with the spirit of Article 10 of the Covenant that in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall, among other considerations, be bound to take account of the geographical situation and of the special circumstances of each State.

“The opinion expressed by the Council shall be regarded as an invitation of the utmost weight which all the Members of the League shall take into consideration in the sincere desire of executing in all good faith their engagements.

“It is, however, the function of the constitutional organs of each Member to decide whether the circumstances do give rise to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of Members, and in what degree the Member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.”

The British Delegation submitted the following amendment, which Mr. Inam supported :—

The third paragraph of the interpretative resolution to read :—

“It is for the constitutional authorities of each Member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of Members, in what degree the Member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.”

The British Delegate (Sir Willoughby Dickinson) pointed out that the reference to “circumstances” had been deleted from the original proposal, and the moral and legal significance of Article 10 was thereby strengthened; it was necessary to avoid the possibility of a State being able to invade the territory of a neighbouring State and to establish itself there while carrying on a discussion as to the justification for its act; but it was for each State to leave its constitutional bodies free to decide in what degree it was bound to assure the execution of its obligations.

The Committee adopted the following as a final text :—

“The Assembly, desirous of defining the scope of the obligations contained in Article 10 of the Covenant so far as regards the points raised by the Delegation of Canada, adopts the following resolution :—

“It is in conformity with the spirit of Article 10 that, in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account more particularly of the geographical situation and of the special conditions of each State.

“It is for the constitutional authorities of each Member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of Members, in what degree the Member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.

“The recommendation made by the Council shall be regarded as being of the highest importance, and shall be taken into consideration by all the Members of the League with the desire to execute their engagements in good faith.”

12. In the Assembly Prince Arfa-ed-Dowleh (Persia) said that in view of the geographical situation of Persia among countries which are not Members of the League, she could not accept any interpretative resolution, tending (as she feared) to weaken the force of the Article. He suggested that the Assembly should refer the question of interpretation to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Despite appeals from the French, Greek and Swiss Delegates, Prince Arfa-ed-Dowleh maintained his ground, but suggested that the voting on the Resolution should be postponed to give him an opportunity of telegraphing to his Government for fresh instructions. The Canadian Delegate, however, opposed this suggestion, and the Assembly decided by 19 votes to 18 against adjournment. The Resolution was thereupon put to the vote, with the following result : Ayes 29, Noes 1 (Persia), abstentions 13. The proposal was therefore not adopted, and the Assembly decided to inform the Council of the result of the vote.

AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 16 OF THE COVENANT.

13. The Second Assembly adopted, among others, an amendment to the text of para. 1 of Article 16 of the Covenant, which the British Government now proposed to modify still further. Para. 1, as amended by the Second Assembly in 1921, is worded as follows :—

“Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII., XIII. or XV., it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse *between persons residing in their territory and persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State*, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse *between persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State and persons residing in the territory of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.*”

Since 1921 the British Government had been in consultation with the French Government, which had been reluctant to ratify the amendment of 1921 because it desired to retain a reference to nationals (as in the original article) where the 1921

amendment refers to residents only. It was accordingly proposed to modify the latter part of para. 1 as follows :—

“ Which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations *and to prohibit all intercourse, even if not between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, at least between persons resident within their territories and persons resident within the territory of the covenant-breaking State, and to prevent all financial, commercial or personal intercourse, even if not between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not, at least between persons resident in the territory of that State and those residing in the territory of any other State whether a Member of the League or not.* ”

The British Government also proposed to delete the words “ in such case ” at the beginning of para. 2 of Article 16, as they will be superfluous as soon as the paragraph becomes para. 5 in consequence of the entry into force of the amendments adopted by the Second Assembly.

11. Committee II. appointed a sub-Committee to consider the question, and adopted by a majority the sub-Committee's proposal to recommend that the discussion of the British Government's amendments should be deferred until the Fifth Assembly. The reasons for this course were that :—

(1) The number of States which have ratified the amendments to Article 16 adopted by the Second Assembly is not yet sufficient to allow these amendments to come into force, and it would be inconvenient to adopt new amendments on the same subject as amendments already adopted but not yet completely ratified.

(2) It would not be opportune to recommence in the present Assembly a discussion on the “ blockade ” as provided for in Article 16.

(3) The drafting of the British amendment did not appear to be quite clear. The words “ if not ” (*si non*) and “ at least ” (*au moins*) might give rise to ambiguity, which an endeavour should be made to avoid by redrafting.

The Report of the Committee will be found in Appendix III. The Assembly passed the following Resolution :—

The Assembly decides to defer discussion of the amendments to Article 16 of the Covenant proposed by the British Government until the Fifth Assembly (1924).

Sept 52.
Assembly
Resolution
No. 4 (22
Sept.)

POSITION RESULTING FROM THE DELAY IN RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT ADOPTED BY THE SECOND ASSEMBLY IN 1921.

15. No amendment of the Covenant adopted in 1921 had come into force at the time of the Fourth Assembly. None had yet been ratified by every Member of the Council. The ratification of a majority of Members, including all the Members of the Council, is required by Article 26 of the Covenant (original text) before any amendment can become effective. The difficulties resulting from this requirement were pointed out by Sir J. Allen in the Assembly, and on his motion the Committee was asked to consider the best solution.

The question is complicated by the fact that one of the 1921 amendments is an amendment of Article 26 itself to prescribe a time limit of 22 months for ratification of amendments, after the lapse of which a proposed amendment would fall to the ground. The debate in the Committee incidentally showed that in some quarters the view was held that, when the amendment of Article 26 becomes effective, all the other 1921 amendments remaining unratified at that date will fall to the ground (more than 22 months having passed since they were adopted by the Assembly); but the more general opinion was that the period of 22 months, within which such amendments would have to be ratified, would run from the date of the amended Article 26 coming into force.

16. The only suggestion made by the Committee in regard to the general question was that delegations should be requested to intervene with their Governments with a view to expediting the necessary ratifications of the amendments of Articles 4, 6, 12, 13, 15 and 26. All these amendments have been ratified by India.

The Assembly adopted the Committee's proposal in the following Resolution :—

“ Whereas, under the terms of Article 26 of the Covenant, the entry into force of amendments to the Covenant is conditional upon their ratification by the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly ;

Assembly
Resolution
No. 10
(26 Sept.).

"Whereas, for the entry into force of the amendments voted by the Second Assembly to Articles 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, and 26, there is now lacking only a very small number of the ratifications required by the Covenant:

"Whereas, according to information obtained, the requisite constitutional measures are in fair way of being completed in those States whose ratifications are still necessary:

"Whereas, on the other hand, it would be desirable in the interest of the authority of the League of Nations that the amendments which have been voted should obtain a larger number of ratifications:

"The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to enter into communication with the delegations of all Members of the League which have not yet deposited ratifications to the amendments referred to in the second paragraph above, and to request them to intervene with their Governments in order to induce the latter to expedite, if possible, the ratification of the said amendments and to express, if they think proper to do so, their intention with regard to ratification of the amendments to Article 16."

RULES FOR THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

17. Committee I. was asked by the General Committee to take up this question again this year, and appointed a sub-Committee to examine it. A long debate took place in the Committee on the report of the sub-Committee.

The Assembly in 1921 had adopted the following amendment of Article 4 of the Covenant:—

"The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility."

But this amendment still remains without effect for lack of the necessary number of ratifications, and the existing text of Article 4 provides for election by the Assembly "in its discretion" (*librement*). It was therefore impossible to make rules regarding such matters as period of tenure, conditions of re-eligibility, &c., and the Committee proposed that the Assembly should merely pass on to the Fifth Assembly the recommendation made by the Third Assembly in 1922 (*see* Part II. of the Resolution of 29th September 1922 quoted in para. 26 of the Report of the Delegates of India), and should make a pressing recommendation to Members to ratify the amendment of Article 4 so that it may come into force before the meeting of the Fifth Assembly.

18. The question of mere rules of procedure regarding the method of voting at an election of non-permanent Members is on a different footing. Certain rules of this character were adopted by the Third Assembly (*see* Part I. of the Resolution of 29th September 1922), and the Committee proposed that these should now be inserted in the Assembly's Rules of Procedure. It was also decided to repeat the recommendation of the Third Assembly, that account should be taken of the world's main geographical divisions, &c., in the choice of the non-permanent Members.

19. The following is the text of the Resolutions covering these points which was proposed by Committee I. and adopted by the Assembly:—

"I. The Assembly repeats the recommendation contained in Resolution No. 11. of 29th September 1922, and refers it to the Fifth Assembly.

"II. The Assembly resolves to insert in its Rules of Procedure between Articles 22 and 23 a text giving effect to the rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council laid down by Resolution No. I. of 29th September 1922.

"III. The Assembly reiterates the following recommendation:—

"It is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the various types of civilisation and the chief sources of wealth."

"IV. Guided by the spirit of the Covenant, the Assembly urgently recommends the Members of the League, and especially the Members of the Council, to ratify the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant which was adopted by the Second Assembly, and expresses the confident hope that this amendment will come into force before the meeting of the Fifth Assembly."

Election of the non-permanent Members of the Council for the forthcoming Year.

20. The election of the non-permanent Members of the Council was held on the 29th September. Five of the existing Members were re-elected with the following majorities:—Uruguay (40), Brazil (34), Belgium (32), Sweden (31), and Spain (30).

The sixth place was obtained by Czecho-Slovakia (which thus replaces China) with 30 votes.

Subjects referred to Committee II. (Technical Organisations).

RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA.

21. The financial reconstruction of Austria was discussed separately from the remainder of the work of the Economic and Financial Committees. The discussion took place in Committee II. on the 7th September and in the Assembly on the 11th and 12th September. It had been justly observed by Viscount Ishii in opening the

Assembly that the reconstruction of Austria was undoubtedly the most notable single achievement of the League during the past year. The manner in which this success was achieved is fully described in the general report on the work of the Council (League of Nations document A. 10, 1923, pages 49-59). An *exposé* was given by M. Ador to Committee II. and, as *rapporteur*, to the Assembly (Appendix III.); and Dr. Zimmermann, the League's Commissioner-General in Austria, also made a statement to the Committee. It was emphasised that the success of the work was specially creditable when compared with the costly failure of the previous attempts to assist Austria that had been made independently of the League. The success was due to the collaboration of the various guaranteeing Powers, under the auspices of the League, the co-operation of the Austrian Government and people in a programme of financial reform, the zeal and energy of the economic section of the League Secretariat, and the supervision over the execution of the reforms that was secured through the Commissioner-General, who controlled the disposal of the loans, and through the Committee of Control representing the guaranteeing Governments. M. Ador presented the following Resolutions, which were adopted by the Assembly on the 12th September:—

"The Assembly, having examined the report presented to it by the Economic and Financial Organisation with regard to the work of reconstruction in Austria and the account of the same work included in the general report of the Council to the Assembly which contains a summary of the information furnished in the monthly reports of the Commissioner-General:—

Assembly
Resolution
No. 1 (12 Sep)

"1. Notes with great satisfaction the success of the most notable effort of economic reconstruction since the war.

"It desires to emphasise that it was only by means of a scheme based on international co-operation through the League that this result could be obtained—a scheme comprehensive in its scope, worked out in full technical detail by the League's experts and enforced by control exercised through a high officer of the League.

"2. Notes the remarkable effect of re-established confidence as illustrated by the support for the currency afforded by the returning financial resources of Austrians themselves, by the large increase of savings and by the establishment of the economic life of the country on a sounder and more stable basis.

"3. Notes with satisfaction the way in which both the technical organisations and the rest of the mechanism of the League have proved sufficiently adaptable and efficient for a task of such magnitude and complexity. It notes, too, that the disinterested efforts of those who have collaborated through the technical organisations have reduced the expenses of the League itself to the smallest dimensions.

"4. Emphasises further that the reforms already effected in Austria and those which may still be expected, combined with increased revenue, are such as to afford a reasonable belief that the task undertaken last year will be carried through with complete success. It notes that the increase in the revenues given as security for the service of the loan justify the hope that it will not be necessary to appeal to the Guaranteeing Powers which, by their own credit, have supported the credit of Austria.

"5. Desires to express to the Austrian Government its appreciation of the energy with which it followed the path of reform and for the courage with which the Austrian people have accepted the necessary sacrifices, and have thus made an invaluable contribution to the economic restoration of the world. It congratulates the Austrian Government on the rapid progress in the recovery of the country and it expresses the confident hope that Austria will continue without relaxation the administrative reforms which are still necessary to set the life of the country on a permanently sound economic and financial basis and to place her in the position of self-supporting prosperity and secure independence.

"It desires at the same time to express its warm appreciation of the notable work of the Commissioner General, Dr. Zimmermann, whose ability, impartiality, and devotion have so greatly assisted Austria.

"It desires also to express its thanks for their work to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, to the technical organisations in particular, to the Financial Committee, and to all those who in many countries have assisted in conducting the financial operations to a successful issue."

OTHER WORK OF THE PROVISIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COMMITTEES.

22. The remainder of the work of the Economic and Financial Committees was dealt with in a single set of resolutions, annexed to two reports (*see* Appendix III.). made by Committee II. on the work of the Financial Committee and on that of the Economic Committee. M. Fernandez y Medina (Uruguay) and Jonkheer van Eysinga (Netherlands) were appointed *rapporteurs* for the former and the latter respectively.

See p. 53.

23. The discussion on the work of the Financial Committee included the problems of double taxation and of fiscal evasion and the difficulties of the financial situations in Greece (owing to the influx of refugees), in Albania (where M. J. D. Hunger, of the Netherlands, had been appointed Financial Adviser) and in the Free City of Danzig.

The general discussion in Committee (on the 18th and 19th September) gave rise to an episode of some interest. Sir Henry Strakosch (South Africa) had intended to propose a resolution on the subject of the great economic and financial problems not yet settled which dominate the life of Europe and of the world. He stated, however, that he did not wish to insist on this, as certain of his colleagues had represented that such a resolution was not advisable, and that it might prejudice negotiations undertaken between the parties chiefly interested. M. Hanotaux (France) welcomed the conciliatory attitude of Sir Henry Strakosch in relinquishing his proposal, but the latter was taken up by M. Munch (Denmark), who suggested that a

sub-Committee should be appointed on the subject. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, as Chairman, thereupon intervened on a point of order, since the question raised political issues which were outside the purview of Committee II.

24. The discussion on the work of the Economic Committee took place on the 13th and 17th September in Committee II.

One of the questions dealt with was that of the international recognition of clauses in commercial contracts agreeing to submit to arbitration differences arising in connection with the contract. A draft protocol regarding such arbitration clauses had been prepared, and was approved, with slight modifications, by Committee II.² His Highness the Jam Sahab explained that the Government of India, while approving the proposal to open a protocol, was still considering whether the protocol could be signed on behalf of India. Various other delegates gave similar explanations on behalf of their Governments.

25. Another question discussed was the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises in countries where they are permitted to establish themselves. The adoption of certain guiding principles as to their treatment had been recommended by the Economic Committee and the Council. The suggested principles, are, briefly, that national treatment in regard to taxation and right of suit and most-favoured-nation treatment in regard to the acquisition of land and other property should be given to foreign persons belonging to reciprocating States, if such persons are permitted to establish themselves. It became quite clear in the Committee that the principles recommended are not intended to refer to the conditions under which actual permission to foreign persons and firms to establish themselves in a country should be accorded. In the debate in the Committee on the 17th September M. Adatei (Japan) submitted a statement quoted in the Committee's report (*see* Appendix III.) suggesting *inter alia* that the Economic Committee should consider whether aliens should not enjoy the same treatment as nationals in regard to general commercial and industrial facilities, *i.e.*, in regard to facilities for establishing themselves in a territory, as well as in regard to their taxation, &c., when once established. The statement also raised the question of the coasting trade. After a discussion, in which Sir H. Llewellyn Smith (British Empire) took part, the Committee decided that the latter question might be dealt with by the forthcoming Conference on Communications and Transit, if that Conference considers it necessary to do so, and that the remaining questions raised by M. Adatei should be referred to the Economic Committee.

26. The Assembly, on the 24th September, adopted the following resolutions on the work of the Economic and Financial Committees. The third of the resolutions deals with the protocol on arbitration clauses and the eighth with the proposals of M. Adatei :—

1. The Assembly, being convinced of the great importance of the problems of double taxation and fiscal evasion, thanks the Financial Committee, the economists and Government experts who have examined these questions, and expresses its desire that these studies may, within a short time, lead to an agreement on certain general principles.

2. The Assembly expresses its appreciation of the work undertaken or continued by the Financial Committee with a view to promoting the reconstruction of certain European countries. It feels confident that the technical opinion and the advice of the Committee may, in the future as in the past, be placed at the disposal of Governments making a request to that effect, as has been done up to now in the case of Albania, Austria, the Free City of Danzig and the problem of the Greek refugees.

3. The Assembly, realising the desirability and urgency of assuring by an international agreement a more general recognition of the validity of the arbitration agreement, whether referring to present or future differences, which is designed to regulate, by means of arbitration, differences that may arise in connection with contracts, and especially with commercial contracts, concluded between persons subject to the jurisdiction of different States ;

Recognising the great importance which commercial circles attach to the prompt settlement of this question ;

Considering that the text of the attached Protocol² submitted by the Second Committee differs from that which was communicated to the Members of the League by Circular Letter No. 56 of 25th May 1923, only as regards a few details of drafting, which do not involve any modifications of substance ;

Decides to open the attached Protocol* immediately for signature by the States, expressing the desire that the greatest possible number of States may adhere to it as soon as possible.

4. The Assembly, emphasising the importance, for the establishment of normal trade relations, of the object of the Conference on Customs Formalities which will open at Geneva on 15th October, and recognising that the achievement of this object would be a further step towards a more equitable treatment as regards the commerce of the States, expresses the hope that the attendance of the States will be the largest possible and that the Conference may result in common agreement between the participating States.

5. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Economic Committee has succeeded in drawing up, for the guidance of Members of the League, a series of principles regarding the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises duly admitted to establish themselves or to exercise their commerce or industry

* For the text of the Protocol, *see* Report of the Committee (Appendix III.) (p. 57).

on the territory of another State. It endorses the action of the Council in recommending the States to put these principles into practice, both by the adaptation of their national legislation and by the conclusion of bilateral agreements.

6. The Assembly notes with satisfaction the steps taken towards the establishment, by means of international action, of better provisions against unfair competition. It notes the conclusions of the Economic Committee as regards the protection of consumers against worthless goods.

It further notes the desire expressed by various delegations for the protection, not only of producers against unfair competition, but also of consumers against dishonest trading. Whilst fully aware that the suppression of these practices depends on the initiative of each individual nation, it nevertheless hopes that the Economic Committee will discuss the possibility of international action with a view to the protection of consumers.

7. The Assembly notes the conclusions of the Economic Committee with regard to the unification of the regulations relating to bills of exchange. It also notes the further progress made towards the unification of methods of compiling economic statistics.

8. The Assembly refers to the Economic Committee for careful examination the proposals of M. Adatci,* with the exception of the proposal respecting the reservation in regard to coasting trade, with which the Second Conference on Communications and Transit should deal if it thinks necessary.

9. The Assembly notes the first measures taken by the Economic and Financial Organisation as regards the collaboration with the International Labour Office in the enquiry on the economic and financial aspects of the unemployment crisis. It also notes that the Economic Committee has decided to extend its study to the general problem of the present economic crisis, of which unemployment is but one consequence.

10. The Assembly follows with satisfaction the development of the publications of the Economic and Financial Organisation. It appreciates the utility of this documentation, which elucidates the present grave monetary, budgetary and economic problems.

11. The Assembly notes with satisfaction the resolution adopted by the Council on 10th September last, to prolong until further order the term of office of the Economic and Financial Commission. The Assembly, in view of the substantial results already achieved by this body, expresses its confidence that much useful work will be accomplished by it in the future.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

27. Mr. Graham (Canada) was appointed *rapporteur* for this subject. His report is printed in Appendix III. When the subject came up in the Assembly on the 22nd September, His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar took the opportunity of referring to the reductions in the budgets of the Technical Organisations which were advised by the Fourth Committee, and pointed out that the Assembly must realise that any decrease in the activity of these organisations would necessarily hinder the progress of international co-operation. We give this speech in Appendix IV.

The Assembly adopted the resolution given below reviewing the work of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, and noticing *inter alia* the preparation of four draft conventions (on Maritime Ports, Railways, Transit of Electric Power and Development of Hydraulic Power) for submission to the forthcoming Conference of the Organisation in November.

The Assembly, having taken note of the reports submitted by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit (Document A. 42, 1923, and A. 70, 1923), concerning the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation between the Third and Fourth Assemblies:

Notes with satisfaction the work of the Organisation during this period and the results achieved both in respect of the preparation of the four draft Conventions to be submitted to the second General Conference, which meets on 15th November (in which the Assembly shares the hopes of the Council that all recognised States will participate), and in respect of the drawing up of numerous resolutions dealing with all classes of transport, which the Assembly desires to bring to the notice of the Council and of the Governments concerned:

Notes with satisfaction the complete success of the first application of the procedure for technical conciliation of differences between States with regard to questions affecting communications and trusts that this procedure, which is established by the resolutions of the First Assembly for the settlement of disputes concerning the execution of the Treaties of Peace and by the provisions of various subsequent conventions, will be as effective in the future for the carrying out of the work for which it was designed.

Among the work of a more essentially practical nature carried out by the Advisory and Technical Committee, the Assembly takes special note of the enquiry undertaken, in accordance with the decisions of the last Assembly, into the application of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference regarding the restoration and improvement of means of communication in Europe. The Assembly draws attention to the conclusions reached by the Committee as a result of this investigation, namely, that, with regard to Western Europe, the efforts for the restoration of transport which have been necessary as a result of the war can be considered as having, on the whole, led to the re-establishment of a normal situation; whereas, with regard to Central and Eastern Europe, the application of the measures laid down at the Genoa Conference and at the preceding International Conferences, as well as the efforts made by the Governments, have resulted, in general, in a marked improvement both in the material restoration of the means of transport and in the facilities given to international traffic. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the important progress still to be realised is subordinate to considerations which are far wider than those of transport, and particularly the problem of the stabilisation of exchanges and that of credits.

Whereas the present Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit will be subject to renewal at the forthcoming General Conference, the Assembly offers its heartiest thanks to it for the work that it has done and expresses its confidence that the next Committee will continue that work, making use of the same procedure and inspired by the same ideals.

* See page 56.

See p. 60.

See p. 105.

Assembly
Resolution
No. 5 (22
Sept.).

THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

28. Committee II. discussed the work of the Health Organisation on the 8th, 10th, 12th, and 14th September. M. Adatei was appointed *rapporteur*. His report, presented on the 15th September to the Assembly (*see* Appendix III.), referred specially to the work of the organisation in connection with the interchange of sanitary *personnel*, epidemiological intelligence, the problem of malaria in Albania, the standardisation of sera and the work of the Epidemic Commission, which, among other activities, had undertaken a great vaccination campaign among the refugees in Greece. The report also mentioned a Netherlands proposal, already approved by the Council, that there should be an inquiry by the Health Committee into the possibility of classifying ports according to the arrangements they possess for the medical inspection and treatment of ships.

29. Discussion in Committee centred, however, round the scheme for the constitution of a Permanent Health Organisation of the League. A plan, based on a proposal of the British Ministry of Health, for the constitution of such an organisation, in combination with the Office International d'Hygiène Publique, was adopted with minor amendments by the Assembly of 1920 (*see* pages 14, 15 and 61-70 of the Report of the Delegates of India to the First Assembly), but was dropped, owing to difficulties resulting from the constitution of the Office International. In these circumstances a merely provisional Health Committee was set up. The Third Assembly decided that a scheme should be drawn up for the constitution of a permanent organisation, and a Mixed Committee representing the League and the Office International was appointed to prepare such a scheme. The proposals of the Mixed Committee are summarised in M. Adatei's report (Appendix III.); they provide for the establishment of a close connection between the Health Service of the League and the Office International d'Hygiène Publique, and a combination of their functions where they at present overlap. In Committee II. members were assured that the new organisation would entail no new charge in the budget of the League. M. Velghe, President of the Office International, and Dr. Madsen, President of the Provisional Health Committee, attended the Committee and gave some explanations. After receiving the report of a sub-Committee, which included M. Adatei (Japan), Sir H. D'Uwellyn Smith (British Empire), and Sir Neville House (Australia), the Committee approved the scheme, and on the 15th September the Assembly passed the following Resolutions on this and other matters:—

1. The Assembly endorses without reserve the conclusions contained in the report presented to it by the Second Committee (Document A. 74. 1923, III), signifying approval both of the work of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations during the past year and of its plans for the future.

The Assembly approves the decision of the Council to authorise the Health Committee to examine the Dutch proposal regarding free "pratique" to ships, as well as the proposal of the Second Committee to submit to the Health Committee the study of the means by which the results of the investigation on the standardisation of sera can be utilised by the Governments. In conformity with the desire expressed by the Third Assembly, the Health Committee will consult, if necessary, the other Technical Organisations of the League, and will submit to the Council the results of its deliberations.

2. The Assembly, realising that the establishment of a single international health organisation, much as it is to be desired, is not attainable in present circumstances, considers that, in the treatment of health questions, it is important to avoid the uncertainty and confusion to which the existence of two distinct organisations may give rise, and consequently that it is advisable to establish close relations between the health services of the League of Nations and the Office International d'Hygiène Publique by the constitution of the Health Organisation of the League on lines which correspond to those of the other technical services of the League.

Having considered the resolution adopted by the Third Assembly on 15th September 1922, which reads as follows:—"that it may be possible, before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly, to prepare, on the basis and according to the principles adopted by the First Assembly for the Technical Organisations of the League, the constitution of a permanent Health Organisation which will be submitted to the Fourth Assembly for approval. This Organisation will undertake the duties laid down in the resolutions of the First and Second Assemblies";

And having considered the report of the Special Mixed Commission of the Office International d'Hygiène Publique and the Health Committee of the League of Nations, and in view of the fact that the Council has approved the scheme drafted by the Commission, and has decided that it be submitted for examination to the Assembly;

Decides to approve the scheme submitted by the Special Mixed Commission for the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, and asks the Council to take all necessary steps to make this agreement effective; and

Calls the attention of the Council to the views expressed in the report of the Second Committee to the Fourth Assembly.

3. The Assembly is of the opinion that it would be desirable for all health reports presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission to be communicated to the Health Committee of the League of Nations for any recommendations it may desire to make to the Permanent Mandates Commission.

30. On the 29th September the Assembly received a further report from M. Adatci regarding the Epidemic Commission, and passed the following further Resolution :—

"The Assembly, having considered Dr. Norman White's Report (Document C. 590, 1923) and the Report of the Secretary-General forwarding to the Council the recommendations of the Health Committee submitted in accordance with the request of the Council formulated on 31st August 1923:

Assembly
Resolution
No. 26
(29 Sept.).

"Pays tribute to the work of the Epidemic Commission and associates itself with the people whom the Commission has helped and protected in expressing gratitude for the assistance rendered.

"Takes note that the work hitherto dependent upon voluntary contributions during a time of acute distress is likely to be arrested for lack of funds if the present decrease in the danger from epidemics should result in a diminution of contributions to an extent that made it impossible to provide urgent relief on the appearance of fresh epidemics.

"And recommends that the Council should, in case of need, study what resources could be placed at the disposal of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to enable it to intervene immediately through the intermediary of its Epidemic Commissioners in the event of sudden epidemic outbreaks of exceptional importance which might involve political consequences."

Subjects referred to Committee III. (Armaments).

31. The Temporary Mixed Commission had recently completed the preparation of draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, based on earlier drafts prepared by Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel Réquin. The Commission's draft combined the two principles of (1) a general treaty, and (2) partial treaties, which had inspired the work of Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel Réquin respectively.

Most of the sittings of Committee III were occupied with a detailed examination of the draft Treaty. Many delegates, however, made it clear that, as there had been insufficient time to obtain the views of their Governments, they could speak only in their personal capacities. The draft was defended by Lord Robert Cecil (British Empire) and M. Lebrun (France), and was subjected to criticism mainly from two quarters: (1) the representatives of the smaller European Powers were inclined to question the necessity of supplementing the provisions of the Covenant itself, and found that the draft was too much concerned with the preparation of military aid, and contained too little provision for the reduction of armaments; (2) the delegates of Italy and other Powers adhered to the point of view which had been expressed by their representatives in the Temporary Mixed Commission, that the principle of partial treaties is dangerous and savours too much of the pre-war system of alliances.

M. Benes was appointed *rapporteur* for the work of Committee III. The interesting report made by him to the Assembly on the 29th September is given in Appendix III. The first part of it deals with the draft Treaty and contains the text in the form in which it left the Committee and was passed by the Assembly. It will be observed that Article 5 (b) provides that no High Contracting Party shall, in principle, be required to co-operate in military, naval, or air operations outside the continent in which it is situated. See p. 66.

32. The Council had appointed a Committee of Jurists to examine the draft Treaty concurrently with Committee III. The Committee of Jurists consisted of the following persons: Dr. Amezaga (Uruguay), Professor Barthélemy (France), M. Botella (Spain), Dr. van Hamel (Director of the Legal Section of the Secretariat), Mr. Kennedy (Ireland), M. de Mello-Franco (Brazil), M. Rolin (Belgium), M. Scialoja (Italy), M. Soughimoura (Japan), and M. Uden (Sweden). This Committee proposed alternative texts for certain articles and made various observations. Its report is annexed to the report of M. Benes. In regard to the ratification clause (Article 18) it raises, among others, the interesting constitutional question whether the Treaty would come into force in Asia when ratified by, say, Japan and by His Majesty on behalf of India. See p. 76.

33. The following from among the many points that were discussed in Committee III. may be worth mentioning here :—

On the 14th September M. Lange (Norway) presented an amendment which was intended to bring the conditions laid down in Article 2 of the Treaty, under which assistance would be furnished, into line with the provisions of the Covenant. He proposed as additional conditions :—

- (1) Registration and publication of all international engagements.
- (2) Adhesion to the protocol accepting as compulsory in certain classes of cases the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice under the second paragraph of Article 36 of its Statute (*see* page III of the Report of the Delegates of India to the First Assembly).
- (3) In the case of States non-Members of the League compliance with Article 15 of the Covenant.

M. Lebrun and Lord Robert Cecil opposed the amendment. It was pointed out that M. Lange's condition (2) would, if insisted on, be likely to endanger the universal acceptance of the Treaty. The amendment was rejected.

34. A discussion commenced on the 17th September regarding the complementary-defensive agreements (partial treaties), contemplated by Articles 6, 7 and 8, which were criticised especially by the delegates of Italy, Spain and Japan. The point of view of the critics was expressed by Count Tosti di Valminuta (Italy). He said that the Committee had to determine how far the system of a treaty of general guarantee was compatible with that of partial treaties and could be completed by them. If it were urged that a general treaty would prove too slow in action, he recognised the force of this argument, but considered that it was more than outweighed by the evil effects that might result from partial treaties; these relied too much on material force and too little on moral forces of a preventive nature, though the danger of such treaties might be lessened by placing them under the control of the League; the Italian Delegation was prepared to agree to the inclusion of partial treaties in the general treaty, provided that (1) they were subject before acceptance to close examination by the Council in order to ensure their purely defensive character; (2) they were open to all States; (3) they were always under the direct control of and subject to revision by the Council; these principles had not been accepted by the Temporary Mixed Commission, and he regretted that the safeguards which had been inserted were not, in the opinion of the Italian Delegation, sufficiently comprehensive; the provisions whereby partial treaties might come into force automatically were unacceptable to Italy; the decision should rest with the Council.

Various amendments proposed in this sense failed to obtain acceptance in the Committee, though certain modifications were made in the draft as a result of the discussion.

35. On the 20th September the Committee accepted an additional Article (Article 9) proposed by M. Holsti (Finland) enabling demilitarised zones to be established.

36. Article 17 (conditional or partial adherence) gave rise to considerable discussion. M. Lebrun proposed an amendment to the effect that either military assistance or assistance of an economic or financial nature should be included in the obligations of partial adherence. Lord Robert Cecil was of opinion that it was most important to obtain the adherence of the largest possible number of States. He therefore thought it would be best to adopt the original text, which allowed any State to adhere, and left the Council the choice of determining the conditions of adhesion. M. Branting supported Lord Robert Cecil. He attached great importance to the original Article, the provisions of which would admit of Sweden considering the possibility of adhering to the Treaty.

The Article, even as adopted, was interpreted in different ways by two sections of the Committee, as explained in M. Benes' report.

37. In view of the necessarily inconclusive nature of the discussions the Assembly contented itself with passing the following Resolution as proposed by the Committee:—

I. The Assembly, having taken cognizance of the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission and amended by the Third Committee as a result of an exchange of views between its members, some of whom spoke in their personal capacity;

Considering that this discussion has revealed some divergences of view and, further, that a large number of Governments have not yet expressed their opinions on Resolution XIV.* of the Third Assembly;

Decides to request the Council to submit the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance to the Governments for their consideration, asking them to communicate their views in regard to the aforesaid draft Treaty.

38. The second part of M. Benes' report reviewed the work of the past year in respect of various matters connected with the limitation of armaments.

A debate took place in the Committee regarding the question of continuing the mandate of the Temporary Mixed Commission. Colonel Réquin (France) proposed a resolution dissolving the Commission, but ultimately a compromise which prolongs the life of the Commission for at least another year was accepted by the Committee.

The resolutions adopted by the Assembly on the 29th September were as follows:—

II. "The Assembly notes with great satisfaction that in the course of the last three years the States Members of the League have, with very few exceptions, been able to reduce their expenditure on armaments:

"Desires that this fortunate development should become more marked and more general;

"Recalls the resolutions of the preceding Assemblies concerning the limitation of expenditure on armaments:

"And requests the Council to recommend to the Members of the League not to exceed, during the period necessary for the elaboration and the adoption of the general scheme for the reduction of

* See page 24 of the Report of the Delegates of India to the Third Assembly.

armaments, the total expenditure on military, naval, and air armaments provided for in the budget of the present fiscal year;

"Subject to the reservation, however, that allowance shall be made—

"(a) for all contributions of effectives, material, or money recommended by the Council for the execution of the obligations provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant;

"(b) for all exceptional situations brought to the notice of the Council and recognised by it as such."

III. "The Assembly expresses the approval of the decision which the Council has taken in connection with the publication of a Year-Book of Statistical Information concerning National Armaments, and recommends that, in preparing this volume, the Secretariat should take into account the recommendations put forward in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission."

IV. (a) "The Assembly recommends that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be invited to prepare a new Convention or Conventions to replace that of St. Germain for the control of the traffic in arms."

"The Temporary Mixed Commission should be requested to draw up the draft Convention or Conventions in such a form that they might be accepted by the Governments of all countries which produce arms or munitions of war."

"The Temporary Mixed Commission should, however, also make alternative proposals for a Convention or Conventions which might be adopted by some of the producing Powers even if others refused their co-operation."

"The Assembly recommends that the Council should invite the United States Government to appoint representatives to co-operate with the Temporary Mixed Commission in preparing the draft Convention or Conventions."

IV. (b) "The Assembly recommends that the Council should invite the Temporary Mixed Commission to refer its scheme for the control of private manufacture of arms and munitions to the Economic Committee of the League for its observations; and that it should also endeavour, in co-operation with the Economic Committee, to draw up draft Conventions for this purpose."

"The Assembly recommends that when the Council has received the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission concerning the arms traffic and private manufacture of arms, it should consider the question of summoning an International Conference to draw up conventions on this subject."

V. "The Assembly awaits with interest the report of the Special Committee on the probable effects of chemical discoveries in future wars, and it again requests the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission to ensure by all possible means the fullest publicity to the report of the Committee."

VI. "The Assembly, in view of Resolution XV. of the Third Assembly concerning the problem of the reduction of armaments,

"Asks the Council to request the Temporary Mixed Commission to consider the possibility of recommending concurrently with the general scheme for the reduction of armaments, the negotiation of draft partial agreements for the same purpose, to be submitted for examination and decision to the Governments of the States Members of the League which are in a special geographical position, and brought to the notice of States not members of the League."

"These draft agreements might, should opportunity arise, provide for reductions of armaments still greater than those provided for by the general scheme."

VII. "The Assembly requests the Council to invite the Temporary Mixed Commission to continue for a further period of one year the work which it has undertaken and to submit its report as early as possible before the meeting of the next Assembly."

"The Assembly is of opinion that it is henceforth the duty of the Council to establish direct co-operation with the Governments with a view to formulating the general plan for the reduction or limitation of armaments which, under Article 8 of the Covenant, must be submitted for the consideration and decision of the several Governments."

"The Assembly requests the Council to regulate and co-ordinate the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission and of the Permanent Advisory Commission, in anticipation of the possible expiration of the Temporary Mixed Commission's mandate at the next Assembly."

"The Assembly, having considered the resolution noted by the Second Assembly in regard to the Disarmament Section of the Secretariat, and taking into account the importance of this organisation, is of the opinion that the Secretariat should be requested to re-establish, when circumstances permit, the special directorship of this Section which the Second Assembly recognised as necessary."

Subjects referred to Committee IV.

INTERNAL FINANCE.

Item 10.—Statements by the Council and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office on new work involving new expenditure on the part of the League.

Item 11.—Deferred pay and pensions scheme.

Item 19.—The allocation of the expenditure of the League.

Item 24.—Budget for 1924, including the budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Audit of Accounts for the fourth fiscal period (1922).

Reports of the Supervisory Commission, including the reports on the cost of living in Geneva.

Report on the general financial situation of the League.

Item 29.—Report on the erection of a hall on the property given to the League by the Canton and City of Geneva.

39. M. Botella (Spain) was appointed by Committee IV. to present a general report on the subjects included under the above items, with the exception of certain

questions on which sub-Committees were appointed, viz. (a) contributions in arrear, (b) erection of a conference hall, (c) allocation of the expenses for 1924, (d) pensions and cost of living. Reports on these four subjects* were presented by M. Zahle (Denmark), Jonkheer van Eysinga (Netherlands), Sir Rennell Rodd (British Empire), and M. Barboza Carneiro (Brazil) respectively.

* See et seq.
reports on
(c) and (d).

BUDGET AND GENERAL QUESTIONS.

40. The outcome of the main discussions in Committee is summarised in the general report of M. Botella (Appendix III.). The following points may be noted:—

Audit of Accounts.—M. Ceresa, Inspector-General of the Italian Ministry of Finance, had been appointed by the Council in January 1923 to be auditor of the League of Nations accounts. M. Ceresa's report was generally considered satisfactory by Committee IV. The period covered (calendar year 1922) was a period of transition from the commercial system of book-keeping originally adopted by the League to a new system based on Governmental methods and adopted on the recommendation of the Supervisory Commission.

41. *Budget for 1924.*—The budget as it was originally submitted by the Supervisory Commission amounted to 24,870,570 gold francs. On the motion of M. Réveillaud (France), Committee IV. passed the following Resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee, considering that, in view of the exceptional financial difficulties with which most of the States are faced, a policy of strict economy and reduction is necessary in all departments of the Secretariat, and particularly in the special organisations of the League:

"Having full confidence that the Secretary-General will assist it in carrying out this policy;

"Entrusts to the Supervisory Commission, at present in session, the duty of considering the question and of submitting as soon as possible a programme of considerable reductions drawn up in agreement with the Secretary-General."

As a result of this re-examination a further net reduction of 1,541,884 gold francs was effected by the Committee. The total reduction was 1,771,801 gold francs, but against this had to be set an increase on account of supplementary estimates of 229,920 gold francs (for the Opium and Drugs Conferences, the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East, the Greek Section of the High Commissariat for Refugees and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation). The budget as reduced stands at 23,328,686 gold francs, or, after deduction of a surplus of 95,051 gold francs from previous financial periods, at 23,233,635 gold francs. The details of the reductions are shown in the annex to M. Botella's report.

42. *Transfers in the Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*—The Committee adopted a proposal made by M. Réveillaud (France) that the budget of the International Labour Organisation should, for the purpose of the application of Article 29 of the Financial Regulations (regarding transfers), consist of four chapters, viz. (1) sessions of the Conference and of the Governing Body, (2) services of the Secretariat, (3) loss on exchange, (4) capital expenditure.

Report on New Work involving New Expenditure.—The Committee took note of the reports rendered by the Council and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office regarding new work involving new expenditure undertaken between the Third and Fourth Assemblies. These reports were submitted in accordance with a resolution of the Third Assembly, and showed that three grants only were made from the appropriation for Unforeseen Expenditure during the period in question; two sums of 50,000 gold francs each had been voted by the Council to Dr. Nansen in connection with the Epidemic Commission and his work for refugees from Asia Minor, and a sum of 5,000 gold francs was granted to the Union of International Associations towards the publication of their "Code des Vœux et des Résolutions des Congrès Internationaux." The Committee asked the competent officials to make similar reports for the period intervening before the Fifth Assembly.

Amendments of the Financial Regulations.—Various amendments proposed to the financial regulations are given in Annex II. to M. Botella's report. These provide *inter alia* that, as had been proposed by the British Government, the Supervisory Commission should meet each year during the Assembly to examine amendments to the budget and report upon the estimates in their final form. Another amendment

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(to Article 31 of the Regulations) provides that sums paid to the working capital fund since 10th January 1920 should be carried to the credit of the Members contributing them, and an amendment to Article 33 provides a procedure in regard to advances from the fund which subsequently turn out to be irrecoverable. The budget for 1921 includes a definitive contribution to the working capital fund of 442,500 gold francs and a temporary contribution amounting to 1,635,274 gold francs to make good irrecoverable expenditure from the fund on account of the International Labour Organisation.

43. In the course of the debates in the Committee Sir Rennell Rodd (British Empire) on 15th September referred to an article in a French newspaper, which alleged that the efforts of the British Treasury towards reducing expenses at Geneva had been directed mainly against the International Labour Office, and that this was due to the fact that the Director of the Office is of French nationality. Sir Rennell Rodd, in rebutting this charge, stated that his instructions were to aim at combining efficiency with economy in the League Secretariat, no less than in the Labour Office, and that questions of personality or nationality were wholly foreign to the case. With reference to the recent enquiry into the staffing of the Labour Office, he pointed out that the budget of the Secretariat also had already been investigated by a British Treasury official.

44. The Assembly on the 28th September passed the following Resolutions proposed by Committee IV. :—

" 1. The Assembly, in accordance with Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes the audited accounts of the League for the fourth financial period ending 31st December 1922. Assembly
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No. 23
(28 Sept.)

" 2. The Assembly, in accordance with Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations,

" Approves, for the financial period 1924, the general Budget of the League, of the Secretariat and the special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting in all, including the supplementary credits, to 23,233,635.70 francs.

" And decides that these budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

" 3. The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the findings of the various Reports of the Supervisory Commission which have been submitted for its consideration.

" 4. The Assembly adopts the amendments to the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations which are given as an Annex to the Fourth Committee's Report See p. 87

" 5. The Assembly adopts the findings of the Fourth Committee's Report " See p. 82.

45. A table is given in Appendix II, which shows, under the main heads, Expenditure for 1922, Budget for 1923, Budget for 1924 as originally submitted to Committee IV., and the Budget for 1924 including alterations made by Committee IV. after further scrutiny by the Supervisory Commission, and as finally passed by the Assembly. See p. 51.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREAR.

46. The Committee considered the report of the sub-Committee on this subject at a private session. In its report to the Assembly (Appendix III.) it classified States whose contributions are in arrear in three groups: (1) those who put forward claims to be relieved from their obligations; (2) those in an exceptional position which necessitates a reduction in the outstanding contributions; (3) those whose contributions have merely been delayed by temporary difficulties. The Committee made definite recommendations in regard to group (2), viz., that the reduced scale (of 1923) should be applied to these States in regard to their unpaid arrears, and that payments on the reduced scale should be spread over a number of years. It recommended that certain sums mentioned in its report should accordingly be written off from the arrears owing by the countries therein referred to. The Assembly on the 26th September adopted the following Resolution proposed by the Committee:— See p. 88

" The Assembly approves the recommendations of the Fourth Committee (A. 90, 1923 X) on the question of unpaid contributions in respect of the periods ending 31st December 1922, and directs that the accounts of the League should be modified accordingly."

Assembly
Resolution
No. 8
(26 Sept.)

ERECTION OF A CONFERENCE HALL.

47. A certain property had been presented by the Canton and City of Geneva for the erection of a Conference Hall for the League of Nations. The desirability of proceeding as soon as practicable with the construction of such a hall was generally recognised, in view of the acknowledged inconveniences of the Salle de la Réformation and the Kursaal, and the expense, including the maintenance of extra staff, &c., involved by the use of these buildings. But the existing financial position obviously made it impossible to proceed with the construction of a hall immediately, and Committee IV. reported accordingly to the Assembly, recommending that the question should be postponed until the Assembly of 1924. The Assembly on 26th September accepted this view in the following resolution:—

The Fourth Assembly, considering that the land so generously presented to the League of Nations by the Republic and Canton of Geneva and by the City of Geneva, ought to be prepared as soon as possible for the purpose for which it was given, that is, the erection of a Conference Hall,

Recognising, further, that the use of the Salle de la Réformation and the Kursaal is attended with very serious inconveniences,

Is of the opinion that the financial position of the League of Nations does not at present permit it to incur new expenditure on a large scale and necessitates the postponement of the question of the erection of a Conference Hall until the Assembly of 1924.

The Assembly requests the Council to continue the work of preparation in the manner indicated in the Report of the Fourth Committee (A. 89, 1923, X.).

ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES.

48. It will be remembered that at the Assembly of 1922 Lord Balfour agreed, and announced in Committee I, that the British Empire as a whole would accept the total of its contributions under the second Réveillaud scale in the form in which it was adopted by the Assembly that year, and that the six States comprising the British Empire would be prepared to settle among themselves the distribution of the expenses included in this total. The proposed scale was thereupon, without further opposition by the Indian Delegation, adopted by the Assembly for the year 1923.

49. The Réveillaud Committee at the time of this year's Assembly had not yet been able to frame the definitive scale with the preparation of which it had been entrusted, though it submitted an interesting report (Document A 23, 1923, II) indicating the lines on which it is now approaching the problem; the principle on which it is proceeding is to select certain heads of expenditure which are more or less comparable in the budgets of different States, and to base indices of capacity to pay on a comparison of these heads without reference to population or to revenue.

50. As no proposal for a final solution of the question was ready for submission to the Assembly the renewal of the existing Réveillaud scale for another year was evidently the natural course to adopt. Thus there appeared to be little immediate prospect of India obtaining relief from the Assembly in respect of her unduly high contribution of 65 units, which represents about 6·9 per cent. of the League's total expenditure. On the other hand the position was by no means clear with regard to the Empire arrangement arrived at by Lord Balfour at the Assembly of 1922. At that time it had been expected that after the lapse of one year a definitive scale would be ready for adoption, and the arrangement accordingly related to the contributions of 1923 only. At this year's Assembly no renewal of the arrangement for 1924 was at first proposed. Indeed the contemplated discussion of the question of re-distributing the total of the 1923 contributions had not yet taken place at the date of this year's Assembly.

It was technically possible for the Indian Delegation to prevent the renewal of the scale by voting against it in the Assembly, but this would have caused a position of grave difficulty as there was no alternative temporary scale likely in an equal degree to be generally satisfactory. Moreover, it would have been necessary to justify a change of attitude since 1922, when India, as a component part of the British Empire, accepted the temporary application of the Réveillaud scale, and this would have involved lengthy explanations.

51. In order to find a way out of these difficulties we had been instructed to seek an understanding with the Head of the British Delegation, that the question of distribution among the six Empire States of the total British Empire contribution to the League's expenses for 1923 and 1924 would be open to free discussion at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. We accordingly approached Lord Robert Cecil, and he

referred the question to the authorities at home. As a result it was fortunately found possible to reach the desired understanding before the question of the allocation of expenses came up for discussion in Committee IV. and the Assembly. In order, however, to avoid giving the impression that India's objection to the incidence of the scale had weakened, it was considered desirable to abstain from voting in the Committee and the Assembly, and to explain in the Assembly the reason of this abstention, viz., that India's objection to the scale is as strong as ever, and may be pressed next year, if a further renewal is then proposed, but that she was willing to refrain from opposition on this occasion in order to avoid a deadlock.

52. A sub-Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Rennell Rodd, was appointed with the object of considering claims put forward by delegations for adjustments of the scale in favour of particular States. As the work of the sub-Committee was making considerable progress at a time when the arrangement made with Lord Robert Cecil, referred to above, had not yet been arrived at, it was thought desirable to submit to the sub-Committee a claim on behalf of India. The report of the sub-Committee is given in Appendix III. It recommended that the units assigned to Japan should temporarily be reduced from 73 to 61, as a mark of sympathy with that country in the calamity of nature that had befallen it. This reduction of 12 units was to be made up by an increase in the value of the unit. Twelve fresh units were brought into the League by the adhesion of two new Members—the Irish Free State, rated at 10 units, and Ethiopia (Abyssinia), rated at two. Seven of the 10 units of the Irish Free State were utilised in reducing the contribution of the British Empire from 95 to 88. The question of the utilisation of the remaining five available units, and the claims of the States who desire reductions, were referred to the Réveillaud Committee for consideration. The sub-Committee, however, intimated its own opinion that the claims of States, such as Roumania and Greece, which were based on pressing financial difficulties, deserved priority. Subject to the report of the Réveillaud Committee on these outstanding points, the 1923 scale was renewed, with the above-mentioned modifications, for 1924. It is annexed, in the form in which it is renewed, to the Report of the sub-Committee (Appendix III.).

See p. 89.

See p. 91.

The Report of the sub-Committee was adopted by the Committee and by the Assembly, which passed on the 28th September the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly, considering that it is not possible to draw up a definitive scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations for the year 1924,

"Considering that the scale adopted for the year 1923 has been recognised by general consent as establishing a more just and equitable system for the allocation of the said expenses than did that of the Universal Postal Union,

Assembly Resolution No. 25 (28 Sept.).

"Approves for the year 1924 the application of the scale annexed to the present Resolution (A. 90. 1923 X),* which is based upon that of 1923, and resolves that the new units made available by the accession of the Members admitted to the League in 1923 shall be divided among those Members for whom the existing allocation is particularly heavy; this allocation shall be made by the Allocation Committee.

"And requests the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, presided over by M. Réveillaud, to continue its researches with a view to preparing a definitive scale which may be presented to a subsequent Assembly. The Assembly leaves it to the Council to modify the composition of the Committee as it may desire.

"The Assembly begs the Council to urge those Members which have not already ratified the first amendment to Article 6 of the Covenant voted by the Assembly of 1921 to do so as soon as possible.

"The Assembly, inspired by a lofty sentiment of the community of nations, desirous of manifesting its profound sympathy with Japan at a moment in which she has been overtaken by a catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude and anxious to lighten the contributory obligation of that country in such measure as the financial situation of the League allows:

"Resolves to reduce to 61 the number of units assigned to Japan in the provisional scale of allocation for 1924. The other Members of the League of Nations undertake to meet the additional charges resulting from this reduction in proportion to the number of units assigned to each."

PENSIONS AND COST OF LIVING.

53. Most of the time of the sub-Committee appointed to examine this subject was taken up with the question of a scheme for the automatic increase or reduction of the salaries of League officials and employees in accordance with variation in the cost of living. The matter had been considered by a Salaries Adjustment Committee appointed after the Second Assembly (1921) and by the Supervisory Commission.

The sub-Committee and Committee IV. adopted the scheme which will be found set out in the Committee's report to the Assembly (Appendix III.). The last six months of the year 1921 are taken as the basic period in calculating variation in the cost of living, and salaries are to be divided into two parts—one fixed and the other (normally 20 per cent. of the total salary) variable; no variation in salary,

See p. 91.

* See Appendix III., Annex X. (see p. 91).

however, is to take effect for changes of less than 10 per cent. in the cost of living index number. The Secretary-General of the League, though his salary is fixed by treaty, and all other high officials of the Secretariat, and also the Director of the International Labour Office, agreed to consider 10 per cent. of their salaries as similarly variable.

54. As regards the question of pensions, the sub-Committee and Committee IV. approved of the creation of a compulsory Provident Fund in the form that had been proposed by the Supervisory Commission after consultation with an expert committee of actuaries consisting of M. Toja and Sir Alfred Watson (*see* the reports of the Supervisory Commission, documents A. 1 (a) 1923, X, and A. 1 (b) 1923, X), and proposed that the Supervisory Commission should be authorised to draw up the final detailed regulations for such a scheme, the liability imposed on the budget of the League thereby not to exceed 5 per cent. of the total salaries of the officials affected. The Committee did not accept a resolution postponing these proposals; this had been put forward by the French Delegate, M. Réveillaud, in view of the fact that the sub-Committee had not had time to consider the matter very thoroughly.

55. The inclusive Resolution given below, proposed by Committee IV., was adopted by the Assembly on the 28th September. The Assembly also adopted a proposal made by Sir James Allen (New Zealand) in regard to the question of the cost of living that the percentage of reduction or increase on variable salaries shall be calculated on the original variable salary and not on the variable salaries on which reductions have already been made.

I. The Assembly approves as a whole the report presented by the Fourth Committee (A. 121. 1923). with regard to the cost of living in Geneva, salaries and the establishment of a pensions fund.

II. The Assembly decides to fix at 20 per cent. the variable portion of the salaries of all established officials (*au titre international*) of the Secretariat of the League and of the International Labour Office.

III. The Assembly decides that a reduction of 13 per cent. shall be made in respect of the year 1921 on the variable portion of the salaries of all the officials mentioned in Resolution II.

IV. The Assembly decides that the salaries of the Secretary-General, the Director of the International Labour Office, and of all the high officials engaged at a fixed salary who have agreed that part of their own salaries should be regarded as a variable portion shall, from now onwards, be composed of two portions, the one fixed and the other variable, the latter portion being 10 per cent. of their present salary.

V. The Assembly decides that the variable portion of the salaries of the officials referred to in Resolution IV. shall undergo a reduction of 13 per cent. in respect of the year 1924.

VI. The Assembly decides that the salaries of the locally engaged staff shall undergo a reduction in accordance with the proposals contained in para. 20 of the Report of the Fourth Committee.

VII. The Assembly decides to establish a compulsory pensions fund for the officials of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. It instructs the Supervisory Commission to draw up the final detailed regulations of the scheme in accordance with the proposals contained in the Report of the Fourth Committee. It decides that the liabilities imposed on the budget of the League of Nations in consequence of the scheme shall not exceed 5 per cent. of the total salaries of the officials affected by the pensions scheme which has been approved by the Supervisory Commission, and which is mentioned in the Report of the Fourth Committee already mentioned.

Subjects referred to Committee V. (Social and General Questions).

OPUM.

56. The question was discussed in Committee No. V. on the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 25th September. Mlle. Bonnerie (Norway), *rapporteur*, submitted the reports of the Opium Advisory Committee* and drafted a resolution merely adopting the reports and resolutions of that Committee. The delegates from the United States of America, Mr. Stephen Porter and Bishop Brent, with Surgeon-General Blue and Mr. Neville as advisers, who had been present at the session of the Advisory Committee held in May and June, attended the meetings of the Fifth Committee also in a consultative capacity. Lord Hardinge spoke first in the debate. No controversial points were raised; the Committee was informed that the Government of India accepted the reports and the resolutions of the Advisory Committee "with the reservations as submitted;" and the hope was expressed that the Advisory Committee's reports and resolutions would be approved by the Assembly. The constitutional position in regard to excise under the Government of India Act was also referred to and was emphasised in a later statement made to the Committee. These statements will be found in Appendix IV.

Mr. Porter also accepted the resolutions of the Advisory Committee; he desired to emphasise the importance of holding a conference of plenipotentiary representatives of the interested States as soon as possible, in time to report to the Fifth Assembly; and he explained the position of his Government with reference to the

* For convenience of reference the Advisory Committee's Resolutions are given in Appendix II. (*See* p. 49.)

reservation made by the Government of India; the practice in America as regards raw opium was stated; and Mr. Porter added that, while he "did not desire to discuss questions of purely domestic legislation in connection with the use of opium," his Government did not regard as legitimate "any international traffic in opium for other than medical and scientific purposes, except under the conditions explicitly laid down in the Hague Convention." As this statement is in conformity with the position which has always been taken by the Government of India, no reply was necessary.

57. The discussion proceeded on non-controversial lines, though the delegates of Persia, Switzerland, France and Japan found it necessary to reply at considerable length to the criticism on the policy of these countries contained in the report. No controversial question arose until Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa), acting in accord with the American delegates, proposed an amendment to Mlle. Bonnevie's draft resolution, which, if accepted, would have had the effect of merging the two Conferences suggested by the Advisory Committee into one large Conference. This proposal was strongly opposed by Great Britain and the Netherlands; it was supported by France, Persia and China. Eventually a small sub-Committee consisting of the representatives of America, Great Britain, France and India, together with the Vice-President, Professor Murray (South Africa), and the *rapporteur* (Mlle. Bonnevie), was appointed to examine the question and also a further amendment proposed by Lord Hardinge to expand the wording of the Resolution so as to take formal notice of the reservations made by the Governments represented on the Advisory Committee.

58. In the sub-Committee an agreement was quickly reached. Lord Hardinge's amendment was accepted. The proposal of the Advisory Committee to call a separate Conference of the countries interested in the question of the smoking of opium was retained unaltered; the recommendation of the Advisory Committee as regards the other Conference was also adopted; but, on strong pressure from America, a clause was added suggesting, for the consideration of the Council, the advisability of enlarging this latter Conference so as to make it world-wide. The sub-Committee drafted resolutions covering these controversial questions.

59. The general impression appeared to be that this world-wide Conference, if held, would be of doubtful utility, and the Netherlands Delegation in particular, when the matter came before the full Committee, was strongly opposed to the suggestion; but, in view of the special importance which America attached to it, and possibly owing to fairly general expectation that the Conference would in reality be a limited one since many Governments would not desire to send representatives, no delegation carried its opposition so far as to vote against the proposal. The Netherlands Delegation, however, again criticised the suggestion at the subsequent meeting of the Assembly.

60. The following Resolutions, which included those proposed by the sub-Committee substantially as drafted, and call for no further comment, were eventually accepted by Committee V. and by the Assembly on the 27th September:--

Assembly
Resolution
No. 13
(27 Sept.).

1. The Assembly expresses its deep appreciation of the very valuable work done by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, adopts its report and resolutions, taking note of the reservations contained therein, and asks the Council to take the necessary steps to put these resolutions into effect.

2. The Assembly, in view of Turkey having agreed, by the Treaty of Lausanne, to adopt and to enforce the International Opium Convention of 1912, and in view of its importance as an opium-producing country, expresses the wish that the Turkish Government—on its ratification of the Convention and signature of the final Protocol of 1914—be invited to nominate a representative to serve on the Advisory Committee.

3. The Assembly asks the Council to repeat its request to the Governments of Albania, Argentine, Colombia, Costa Rica, Lithuania, Paraguay, Persia and Switzerland, that they should take all possible measures with a view to the prompt ratification and application of the Opium Convention.

4. The Assembly, taking note with regret of the fact that a number of countries have not yet adopted the import certificate system as recommended by the Assembly in 1921 and 1922, reiterates the opinion expressed by the Assembly in 1922, that this system is the most practical method yet suggested for controlling the import and export of the drugs in accordance with the provisions of the International Opium Convention and that its success depends on its adoption by all countries engaged in importing or exporting the drugs. In view of the serious difficulties created by the non-adoption up to the present, of the system by several important countries, requests that the Advisory Committee may be instructed to proceed with the consideration of the suggestion contained in the second resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1922,* and to report specially to the next Assembly on the whole situation.

5. The Assembly approves the proposal of the Advisory Committee that the Governments concerned should be invited immediately to enter into negotiations with a view to the conclusion of an agreement as to the measures for giving effective application in the Far Eastern territories to Part II. of the Convention and as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued, and as to the measures which should be taken by the Government of the Republic of China to bring about the suppression of the illegal production and

* See page 31 of the Report of the Delegates of India at the Third Assembly.

use of opium in China, and requests the Council to invite those Governments to send representatives with plenipotentiary powers to a conference for the purpose and to report to the Council at the earliest possible date.

6. The Assembly, having noted with satisfaction that, in accordance with the hope expressed in the fourth resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1922, the Advisory Committee has reported that the information now available makes it possible for the Governments concerned to examine, with a view to the conclusion of an agreement, the question of the limitation of the amounts of morphine, heroin or cocaine and their respective salts to be manufactured: of the limitation of the amounts of raw opium and the coca leaf to be imported for that purpose and for other medicinal and scientific purposes; and of the limitation of the production of raw opium and the coca leaf for export to the amount required for such medicinal and scientific purposes, requests the Council, as a means of giving effect to the principles submitted by the representatives of the United States of America, and to the policy which the League, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, has adopted, to invite the Governments concerned to send representatives with plenipotentiary powers to a conference for this purpose, to be held, if possible, immediately after the conference mentioned in Resolution V.

The Assembly also suggests, for the consideration of the Council, the advisability of enlarging this conference so as to include within its scope all countries which are Members of the League, or Parties to the Convention of 1912, with a view to securing their adhesion to the principles that may be embodied in any agreement reached.

See p. 93.

See pp.
102-104.

61. Mlle. Bonnevie's report to the Assembly is given in Appendix III. Mr. Syed Hasan Inam was to have spoken for India in the Assembly, but was unfortunately indisposed. The speech which he had prepared was read by the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, and is given, together with His Highness's own statement, in Appendix IV. There was no criticism of India's policy or administration at any stage of the Committee's or Assembly's proceedings; but the argument first put forward by M. Bourgois before the Advisory Committee in June 1923, and alluded to by Mr. Hanotaux at the 25th session of the Council held on the 7th July 1923, was further developed by M. Reynald (France), both in the Fifth Committee and the Assembly, though he carefully avoided pressing his real point too strongly, or asking for a decision on it. In the Committee he merely proposed that, in Resolution No. 5, the reference to opium for the purpose of smoking should be replaced by the term used in the Convention, namely, "prepared opium," a proposition which was technically correct; but he frankly admitted that his object was to leave the way entirely open to France if she should at any future time desire to contend that the term "prepared opium," as used in the Hague Convention, included opium used for eating as well as opium used for smoking. M. Reynald's amendment was defeated in the Committee by a narrow majority, the opposition coming chiefly from the British Delegate (Dame Edith Lyttelton) and from Mlle. Bonnevie, the *rapporteur*. There is reason to think that this line of attack on India's position will be elaborated, and strongly pressed, when the Conference contemplated by Resolution 6 meets. The American Delegation has made a formal reservation, quoted in Mlle. Bonnevie's report, to the effect that the use of the term "opium for smoking" in the Resolution must not be construed as an interpretation of the Convention; the French Delegation has associated itself with this reservation, and the speech made by M. Reynald before the Assembly suggests that France's policy is to raise this question on all occasions when it may be possible to do so, and to press for re-examination of the matter, not from the standpoint of the Hague Convention, but from the wider point of view that, if the smoking of opium is considered an evil sufficient to justify international action of a restrictive character, the eating of opium cannot be permitted to escape from similar control unless a clear case in favour of that course can be established, after an exhaustive and impartial enquiry conducted under international auspices.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

62. Committee V. examined the report of the Advisory Committee on this subject and listened to a statement by Mr. S. W. Harris, of the Home Office, the Chairman of that Committee. The Advisory Committee had adopted certain resolutions which are reproduced in Appendix II. Two of those resolutions, Nos. 6 and 7, regarding the employment of foreign women in licensed houses and the system of official regulation, had not been endorsed as they stand by the Council; it had decided merely to communicate the former to Members of the League, and, as regards the latter, to ask Members which have recently abandoned a system of licensed houses, and those which still retain such a system, to give information as to the reasons and results of their policy.

After a debate in which Mlle. Forchhammer (Denmark), Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire), Mlle. Vacaresco (Roumania), and M. Reynald (France), took part, the Committee recommended that the Assembly should adopt as its own the resolutions and measures taken by the Council in regard to the report of the Advisory

See p. 50.

Committee, and proposed among others a further Resolution suggesting that States which retain a system of regulation should be asked to take special precautions to ensure the protection and full liberty of women inmates of licensed houses. M. Sokal (Poland) was appointed *rapporteur*. His report is given in Appendix III. The Assembly on the 15th September passed the following inclusive Resolution proposed by the Committee :—

1. The Assembly decides to adopt as its own the resolutions and measures taken by the Council in regard to the report of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, and expresses its great appreciation of the work accomplished by the Advisory Committee and by the Council.

2. The attention of the Assembly having been called to the circumstances in which women are alleged to enter licensed houses, it recommends to the Council that the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children be asked to consider whether it would not be desirable to draw the attention of all States, in which a system of State regulation is still in force, to this question and to invite these States to make an enquiry and to take special precautions to ensure the protection and secure the full liberty of women inmates of licensed houses.

3. The Assembly endorses the recommendation of the Advisory Committee as to the employment of women police among the police engaged in dealing with prostitution.

4. The Assembly notes the remarks of the Advisory Committee on the subject of the signature and ratification of the Convention of 1921; it expresses its regret that so few States have as yet ratified the Convention, and it recommends the Council to invite those States which have not adhered to or ratified the Convention to be good enough to inform the League as to the circumstances which have prevented their doing so.

5. The Assembly attaches great importance to the proposed expert enquiry already referred to and expresses the earnest hope that the Governments concerned will give the fullest facilities to the experts in any investigation which they may think it necessary to undertake on the spot.

6. The Assembly understands that the provisions of the International Convention on the subject of the traffic in women and children are not at present applied to certain mandated territories administered by the League. It recommends the Council to request the Permanent Mandates Commission to give further consideration to this question.

Assembly
Resolution
No. 2
(15 Sept.)

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

63. The Committee heard a statement on the work of the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East, by Mlle. Karen Jeppe, a member of the Commission, and on 27th September Mlle. Forchhammer, as *rapporteur*, presented the following Resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly :—

"The Assembly approves the reports of Dr. Kennedy and Mlle. Karen Jeppe. It expresses its appreciation of the work accomplished and recommends that the League shall continue the work for the protection of women and children in the Near East."

Assembly
Resolutio
No. 29
(27 Sept.)

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION (Items 18 and 28).

Item 18.

64. The chief work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during the preceding year had been directed towards an improvement of the conditions of "intellectual life" in countries, such as Austria, which have suffered as a result of the war. It acts as a clearing house for the supply of the requirements of scientific institutions in such countries.

An appeal on behalf of Austria has resulted in considerable assistance in the shape of the free supply of publications by scientific institutions.

Many national Committees have been formed in affiliation with the League Committee.

It has also concerned itself with the following subjects :—

(a) *Bibliography*.—A plan has been drafted for the co-ordination of libraries by the preparation of collective national catalogues and the encouragement of exchanges. A bibliographical index is under preparation.

(b) *Archæology*.—The Committee seeks to assist in promoting international steps for the preservation of ancient monuments and desires to get into touch with the Mandates Commission (in regard to Iraq and Palestine).

(c) *Intellectual Property*.—The Committee wishes to extend the protection enjoyed by artistic and literary work or patented inventions to scientific discoveries. It proposes the formation of an International Union for the protection of scientific property under a convention (on the lines of the Berne Copyright Union).

(d) *Inter-University Relations*.—The Committee encourages the interchange of Professors, the organisation of international holiday courses and the equivalent recognition of degrees.

The Committee is also promoting a revision of the Brussels Convention of 1886 for the International Exchange of Official, Scientific and Literary Publications.

65. The work of the Committee was debated at great length by Committee V. One of its members—M. Reynold—was present at some of the meetings. Two other members—Professor Gilbert Murray and Mlle. Bonnevie—were sitting in Committee V. as delegates. A long discussion initiated by Mlle. Vacaresco, and continued by the delegates of Venezuela, China, Yugoslavia, Ireland, and others, was concerned with the claims of certain States that their characteristic cultures should be represented in the *personnel* of the Committee. It at first appeared that what was desired was the representation of nationalities as such. This would have been inconsistent with the principle on which the Council had constituted the Committee, which consists of not more than 12 persons chosen on the grounds of personal qualification. M. Bardoux, *rapporteur*, was, however, not adverse to a proposal to enlarge the Committee if, as he understood, the proposal was based on the ground that a wider representation of divergent types of culture, rather than different nationalities as such, was desirable in the interests of intellectual co-operation. The Committee proposed a resolution noting the legitimate demands of the delegates of Roumania, the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and Czechoslovakia, of Spanish-speaking America, Asia, Ireland and the Finno-Ugrian nations, and requesting the Council to consider the possibility of enlarging the Committee and of introducing some system of rotation.

It was proposed in another resolution to authorise the Committee to convert its secretariat into an international university information office; this proposal involved a supplementary estimate of 14,920 gold francs, which was subsequently passed by Committee IV, after M. Bergson, Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, had given oral explanations.

66. The two Resolutions referred to above, with several others, were adopted by the Assembly on the 27th September as follows:—

I. The Assembly, considering it desirable to increase the authority of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation by enlarging it so that it represents not only the various intellectual methods but also the various national cultures; having noted with satisfaction the intention expressed by the Council at its meeting of 23rd April 1923, of adding to the Committee on the occasion of the next vacancy a professor of the University of Vienna as representative of the Germanic culture; having noted also the legitimate demands expressed by the Delegates of Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Czechoslovakia, by the Spanish-speaking Delegate of America, by the Asiatic Delegates and by the Delegates of Ireland and of the Finno-Ugrian nations; requests the Council to consider the possibility of increasing the number of members on the Committee, introducing at the same time a system of rotation to be determined.

II. The Assembly, considering that it is important to encourage and facilitate the work of mutual intellectual assistance among the various nations, endorses the resolution adopted by the Council, and

- (a) Expresses the hope that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, availing itself of the help of the delegates of the National Committees, will, at its next session, take up with renewed energy the urgent problem of intellectual assistance;
- (b) Is of opinion that National Committees should also be established in those countries which have already organised intellectual co-operation on definite lines and in a different way;
- (c) Requests the Council to ask the Governments Members of the League of Nations to be good enough to lend their moral and financial support to these National Committees—if they have not already done so—and to authorise the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to receive from any institution or private person interested in the work, funds destined for this purpose; and
- (d) Invites the Committee to continue the investigation into the conditions of intellectual life which it has started and to communicate the results obtained.

III. The Assembly, taking note of the statements of the Committee and of its Chairman in regard to the impossibility of continuing their work unless an international university information office is formed, authorises the Committee to convert its secretariat into an international university information office.

The initial activities of this office might include:—

- (a) Communication of the recommendations of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for their information to the competent authorities and particularly to the national university information office.
- (b) Publication of any information which it may receive, especially from National University Information Bureaux, where such bureaux exist, in regard to the equivalence of studies and diplomas recognised by different countries, the curricula of universities, especially university courses relative to modern nations, teaching of modern languages, literatures and civilisations and international vacation courses.
- (c) Preparation of a meeting between the University Sub-Committee and the Delegates of the International Students' Associations, with a view to examining methods of extending the exchange of students, with the concurrence of their Universities.
- (d) Establishment of relations with all the organisations existing in various countries for the purposes of rendering exchanges of professors more frequent.

IV. The Assembly, sharing the Committee's conviction that the international organisation of bibliography serves to establish closer touch between scholars in different countries and to facilitate their individual studies :—

- (a) Invites the Committee to publish the "Index Bibliographiens" which it has planned, and to pursue its enquiries in regard to co-operation between the libraries or groups of libraries which have been formed in the different countries, and in regard to the utilisation of the work of the International Bibliographical Institute at Brussels;
- (b) Authorises the Committee forthwith to take the necessary steps to summon technical conferences for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of analytical bibliography abstracts in certain specified sciences; and
- (c) Requests the Council, in agreement with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to convene a conference of experts to prepare the eventual revision of international conventions relative to the exchange of publications of every kind, books, periodicals, catalogues, papers and theses.

V. The Assembly, grieving at the calamity which has stricken the universities and libraries of the capital of Japan, invites the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to study means to afford international assistance so far as to facilitate the reconstitution of the library and scientific collections which have been destroyed in Japan.

VI. The Assembly, approving the principle of Senator Ruffini's scheme in regard to the protection of scientific property, and in consideration of the resolution on this subject adopted by the Council, decides to forward this scheme to all the Governments, requesting them to communicate to the Secretariat of the League of Nations any observations they may wish to make, in order to enable the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up, if the necessity arises, a final draft convention to be placed on the agenda of the Fifth Assembly and submitted subsequently to all the States for signature and ratification.

VII. The Assembly, noting with satisfaction that the Committee has given its consideration to international problems relative to art and artists, authorises the Committee to establish relations with the municipality of Capri, which has offered to place the Charterhouse at Capri at the disposal of the artists of the various countries, in order to ascertain, after enquiry, whether the Council should be asked to accept this offer.

VIII. The Assembly urges the Governments of the States Members to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries where such teaching is not given be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.

Item 28.

67. A further debate under the head of Intellectual Co-operation was conducted in Committee V. regarding certain Spanish proposals in favour of (1) reciprocal recognition of secondary education diplomas, which do not entitle holders to exercise professions; (2) the establishment of an international university either at Paris, Salamanca, Oxford, or Bologna; (3) the institution of University degrees entitling holders to international recognition of professional qualifications.

M. de Palacios (Spain), on the 27th September, reported this subject to the Assembly, which adopted the following Resolution :

"The Assembly, having noted the Spanish Government's proposals concerning the equivalent recognition in all States of certain secondary educational diplomas, the creation of an International University, and the foundation of a higher educational establishment in each of the countries Members of the League of Nations, whose diplomas shall be valid in all countries Members of the League :

"And having duly appreciated the importance of these proposals: without prejudice to the main issue involved :

"Decides to request the Council to refer these proposals to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for consideration, in order that this Committee may draw up a report on the subject to be submitted to the Fifth Assembly."

Assembly
Resolution
No. 22
(27 Sept.)

REFUGEES.

68. The Committee heard a statement from Dr. Nansen regarding the work that was being done for the Greek refugees. Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire) was appointed *rapporteur* on the question of Greek refugees, and M. Radoff (Bulgaria) on the question of Russian refugees and deported Bulgarians. The reports (*see* Appendix III) were presented to the Assembly on the 27th September, and the following Resolutions were adopted :—

See p. 97.

"The Assembly, having heard the report (Doc. A. 30, 1923) of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Refugees on the work which he has accomplished during the past year,

"Approves this report and wishes to express its entire satisfaction with the way in which the High Commissioner has discharged the duties entrusted to him and to record its very high appreciation of the services which he has rendered to the refugees and to the League.

Assembly
Resolution
No. 30
(27 Sept.)

"Whereas the work with which the High Commissioner was entrusted is not yet terminated, and as it is essential, both in the interests of the refugees and of the Governments concerned, that his organisation should continue its activities,

"It invites the High Commissioner to continue to apply the same methods of work as hitherto, especially in the matter of relief and assistance.

"Considering that the present situation of the Russian refugees, although sensibly improved, remains very precarious, and that the termination of the activities of the High Commissioner would materially destroy the progress already realised on behalf of the refugees,

"Invites the Council to request the Governments of the Members of the League to continue to afford to the High Commissioner the support and assistance which they have hitherto given him, especially as regards the development of the means of general and professional education and the securing of employment for the refugees."

"The Assembly, having noted with great interest the Report (Doc. A. 30, 1923) of the High Commissioner for Refugees on the work which he has so successfully carried out on behalf of the refugees of Asia Minor, particularly with a view to carrying into effect a scheme for their permanent settlement in Greece,

"Desires to express to him its gratitude for the eminent services which he has rendered to the League and to the refugees; and,

"Considers it desirable that he should continue to collaborate in the work undertaken on behalf of the refugees; and

"Invites the High Commissioner to co-ordinate the work of the other organisations dealing with the refugees,

69. The budget provision for the High Commissariat for Refugees was 153,000 francs. In Committee IV. a request was made by Dr. Nansen for an additional credit of 100,000 francs. A supplementary estimate of 50,000 gold francs only was passed for the section of the Commissariat dealing with Greek refugees. Another request for a supplementary credit of 147,000 gold francs for the Russian section of the Commissariat was refused. Dr. Nansen challenged the latter decision of Committee IV. in the Assembly in the debate on the budget of 28th September, but his amendment was defeated on a roll-call vote by 23 votes to 16, with three abstentions; the matter had already been carefully considered by the Supervisory Commission and Committee IV., which was of opinion that the time had come when much of the work might be taken over by national committees in the countries where the Russian refugees have found asylum. We had concurred in this view in Committee IV. and voted against the amendment in the Assembly.

TRAVELLING FACILITIES FOR BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL GUIDES.

70. M. Valdés Mendeveille (Chile) introduced this subject, and was appointed *rapporteur* to the Assembly. The nature of the proposal is described in his report (Appendix III.). On the 28th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly, considering the importance of encouraging contact between the younger generations of different nationalities, invites the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations to grant all possible facilities for travel by land or by water:

"(a) To groups of students at higher or secondary educational institutions,

"(b) To groups of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides,

belonging to a registered national association of any State Member of the League, when such groups are travelling from the territory of one State Member of the League either through or to the territory of another State Member."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION TO ASSIST IN THE RELIEF OF PEOPLES OVERCOME BY DISASTERS.

71. A scheme originating with M. Ciralo, President of the Italian Red Cross, had been referred by the Council to the Secretariat for a report. The Council in a Resolution of 10th September 1923 subsequently submitted the scheme and the Secretary-General's report thereon to the Assembly. Committee V., after speeches by M. Ador (Switzerland), M. Cavazzoni (Italy), and others, proposed a Resolution referring the scheme and the Secretary-General's report to Governments for their observations. M. Reynald (France) was appointed *rapporteur* (for his report, see Appendix III.), and the Assembly on the 27th September adopted the Resolution which is as follows:—

"The Assembly, having noted with great interest the report prepared by the Secretary-General and the proposals of the Council with reference to the scheme of Senator Ciralo, President of the Italian Red Cross, whose lofty principles of human solidarity and international reciprocity it approves,

"Authorises the Council to instruct the Secretary-General:

"1. To communicate to the various Governments these two documents (Doc. A. 67, 1923) as well as any remarks thereon which may be made by the Red Cross Organisations, with the request that they communicate their observations on the subject to the Secretariat;

"2. To keep the Council informed from time to time of the replies of the Governments with a view to the ultimate submission to the Assembly of any proposals which, on the basis of these replies, the Council may see fit to make."

Subjects referred to Committee VI. (Political Questions).

ADMISSION OF NEW STATES (IRISH FREE STATE AND ETHIOPIA) TO THE LEAGUE.

72. A sub-Committee was appointed to deal with the applications of Ireland and Abyssinia. The sub-Committee, applying the criteria laid down by the First Assembly (*see* para. 115 of the Report of the Delegates of India), considered the following questions :—

- (1) Is the request of the applicant State for admission into the League of Nations in order?
- (2) Is the applicant State recognised *de jure* and *de facto*, and by what States?
- (3) Does the country possess a stable Government and well-defined frontiers?
- (4) Is it fully self-governing?
- (5) What have been the acts and declarations of the applicant State :—
 - (a) As regards its international engagements?
 - (b) As regards the stipulations of the League with reference to armaments?

73. A report in favour of the admission of the Irish Free State was submitted by M. Meierovics (Latvia) and was approved by Committee VI. and by the Assembly unanimously on 10th September. Mr. Cosgrave made a speech in the Assembly, commencing with a few sentences in Irish, but continued in English, in response to the welcome accorded to the Irish Delegates.

74. The question of the admission of Abyssinia (Empire of Ethiopia) was a more difficult one. The sub-Committee reported on 14th September that it was satisfied as to the first four of the established criteria, though in regard to the fourth it had been unable to determine exactly the extent of the effective control of the central authority over the remote provinces; as regards the fifth criterion, the Ethiopian Government was prepared to accept the conditions laid down in Article I of the Covenant (the giving of effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, &c.) and to carry out all obligations incumbent on Members of the League. The sub-Committee recommended to the Committee that, in order to assist Ethiopia to overcome obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of such obligations, a declaration should be obtained that Ethiopia recognises the obligations of the first paragraph of Article 11 of the Convention of 10th September 1919 (amending the General Act of Berlin and of the General Act and Declaration of Brussels),* that she also recognises as binding "the system at present established with regard to the importation of arms and ammunition," and undertakes to conform to the principles of the Arms Traffic Convention of 10th September 1919, and that she is willing to give the Council information and to consider any recommendations made by the Council with regard to the fulfilment of these obligations.

The report of the sub-Committee gave rise to a considerable debate in the full Committee. The discussion showed two currents of opinion among the members of the Committee. Some considered that the admission of Ethiopia as soon as possible would be the best means of enabling that country to enter into closer relationship with other civilised countries, to follow their example and their methods, and to foster social development. The other trend of opinion was based on certain doubts not regarding the intentions of Ethiopia but with regard to the actual means which she possesses of enforcing, in the various parts of her territory, the engagements assumed by the central government; this question was of importance when it was considered that the engagements which Ethiopia was asked to assume necessitated a constant and complete control not only of her frontiers but also of certain provinces; the arms traffic must be closely watched so as to prevent the recrudescence of any unfortunate incidents in neighbouring territories; further, the suppression of the slave traffic and improvement of conditions of life must be carried on in such a way as to ensure as general and continuous a progress as possible.

Ultimately it was decided that Ethiopia might be admitted if the declaration suggested by the sub-Committee was signed by the Ethiopian Delegation. This was done, and the Assembly unanimously admitted Ethiopia as a Member of the League on 28th September.

SLAVERY.

75. The Third Assembly had requested that a report on the question of Slavery should be presented to the Fourth Assembly. Information had been collected by the

* The Signatory Powers exercising sovereign rights or authority in African territories will continue to watch over the preservation of the native populations and to supervise the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being. They will, in particular, endeavour to secure the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea.

Council during the past year from the Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, India and other countries (Document A. 18, 1923, VI.). The report received from the French Government contained an annex regarding slavery in Abyssinia.

Committee I. appointed a sub-Committee, of which Mr. Syed Hasan Imam was a member, under the chairmanship of Dr. Nansen, to consider the question of Slavery, and also that of Mandates.

This sub-Committee and the sub-Committee on the admission of States held joint meetings in regard to the question of slavery in Ethiopia and received explanations from the Ethiopian Delegation as to the position in that country. The Delegation stated its willingness to telegraph for full powers to its Government in order to negotiate with the League in regard to the matter. The conclusion reached in regard to this particular question has been stated in the preceding section.

76. As regards the general question of Slavery, the sub-Committee submitted a draft Resolution which was adopted by the Committee and subsequently by the Assembly on the 27th September to the following effect:—

"The Assembly having taken cognisance of the information obtained up to the present from Members of the League and considering that it cannot form the basis of a sufficiently complete report.

"(a) Expresses to the Council its gratitude for the steps taken to carry out the request made by the Third Assembly relating to the question of Slavery:

"(b) Requests the Council to entrust to a competent body the duty of continuing the investigation with a view to obtaining further information on the subject, particularly from the Governments of States not Members of the League, and, if necessary, from individuals or organisations whose competence and reliability are recognised;

"(c) Hopes that the results of this investigation be communicated, if possible, to the Fifth Assembly, and expresses the desire that, in any case, the fifth Assembly may receive a report showing the progress made in different countries with regard to the suppression of Slavery in all its forms."

Dr. Nansen was appointed *rapporteur* to the Assembly, and in his report (Appendix III.) stated that different views had been expressed in the sub-Committee as to the body to which the further investigation contemplated should be referred; some delegates suggested the Permanent Mandates Commission, others the International Bureau at Brussels, others a special Advisory Committee; it was accordingly agreed that it should be left to the Council to decide what particular body should be entrusted with the enquiry.

REPORTS OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

77. On the subject of the Reports of the Mandates Commission for the preceding year (A. 46, 1923, VI., and A. 47, 1923, VI.) Dr. Nansen's sub-Committee submitted the following Resolution, which was approved by Committee VI. and by the Assembly on the 26th September:—

The Assembly having taken cognisance of the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission and of the observations of the accredited representatives of Australia, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa:

(a) Expresses its satisfaction with the extensive work which this Commission has so conscientiously accomplished and with the notable progress made in the mandated territories since the last Assembly;

(b) Requests the Commission to pursue its task with the same zeal and the same impartiality;

(c) Expresses the confident hope that the Commission will continue to enjoy the co-operation of the mandatory Powers in the work of effecting a continuous improvement in the moral and material condition of the natives, and, in particular, of the women and children, by means of the organisation of general and professional education, the improvement of public health, the equitable remuneration of native labour, and the final abolition within as short a time as possible of slavery in all its forms, including its domestic forms;

(d) Expresses its regret that the Permanent Mandates Commission has not been able to report that satisfactory conditions have as yet been re-established in the Bondelzwarts district and the hope that the future reports of the Union of South Africa will contain such information as may allay all misgivings in this connection.

Paragraph (d) of the Resolution gave rise to certain observations in the Assembly debate by Mr. Bonamy (Haiti) and Sir E. Walton (South Africa). The former stated that the facts to which the attention of the Third Assembly had been drawn by M. Dantes Bellegarde concerning the insurrection of the Bondelzwarts had been recognised as entirely accurate by the Permanent Mandates Commission, which had emphasised that the repression of the rebellion had been too harshly effected; confidence might be placed in the goodwill of South Africa and of all the mandatory Powers, which would find a means of developing the civilisation of backward peoples susceptible of improvement. Sir Edgar Walton said that he had given an undertaking to the Third Assembly that the South African Government would thoroughly investigate the Bondelzwarts rebellion; an investigation had been carried out by officers thoroughly acquainted with native affairs and conditions.

REQUEST TO THE ASSEMBLY FROM THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING:—

(a) THE COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION OF 13TH JANUARY 1922;

(b) REFERENCE OF CERTAIN QUESTIONS TO THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE FOR AN ADVISORY OPINION.

78. This request arose out of certain incidents in the history of the Vilna dispute between Lithuania and Poland. The Council on the 3rd February 1923 proposed a provisional line of demarcation which was accepted by Poland but not by Lithuania. On the 15th March 1923 a decision was given by the Conference of Ambassadors (the Polish Government having requested the Principal Allied Powers to take action under the third paragraph of Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles); this decision fixed the frontier in conformity with the provisional line of demarcation proposed by the Council. The Council, on the 21st April 1923, recognised that the question had been determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Treaty.

The matters which the Lithuanian Government apparently wished to bring before the Assembly were (1) the question whether this outcome of the dispute was consistent with a resolution of the Council on the 13th January 1922, that it could not recognise any solution of a dispute, submitted to the League by one of its Members, which might be reached without regard to the recommendation of the Council, or without the consent of both parties; (2) a request to the Assembly to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on certain points.

79. These matters involved the important constitutional question of the respective spheres of action of the Council and the Assembly, and Committee VI. did not consider itself competent to discuss them, since the Council had already taken a decision, but decided to ask Committee I. for an opinion on the question of the conditions under which the Assembly might be competent to deal with such requests.

In Committee I. there were differences of opinion. A reply prepared by Sir W. Dickinson (British Empire) and M. Politis (Greece) was finally sent to Committee VI. which did not altogether exclude the competence of the Assembly to order a reference to the International Court, though this view had been strongly opposed in Committee I. by M. Barthélemy (France). The reply is annexed to the report which the Sixth Committee made to the Assembly on 27th September (*see* Appendix III.). The report states that in view of the terms of the First Committee's letter the Sixth Committee would have proceeded to examine the question of a reference to the Court submitted by the Lithuanian Government, but that a request had subsequently been received from the Lithuanian representative that the further examination of the question should be postponed till the Fifth Assembly.

On the 27th September the Assembly accordingly decided to refer the question to the Fifth Assembly (Assembly Resolution No. 9).

EASTERN CARELIA.

80. In 1921 the Council of the League of Nations had its attention called by Finland to the position created in Eastern Carelia (the country lying between Finland, Lake Ladoga, Lake Onega and the White Sea) by the non-application of the Treaty of Dorpat and declared itself ready to examine the question if there were agreement between the two interested parties, Finland and the Soviet Government. The latter, however, declared that the question of Eastern Carelia was not an international but an internal question. The Council, in April 1923, as the result of a further request from Finland, asked the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether the provisions of the Treaty of Dorpat relating to Eastern Carelia constituted engagements of an international character. The Court decided that disputes between Members of the League and States which were not Members of the League could not be submitted without the consent of the latter, and the Court could not, therefore, express an opinion. In Committee VI. the Finnish Delegate expressed the hope that international engagements made by a Power which was not a Member of the League should not be held to be outside the scope of an impartial examination by the organs of the League.

Committee VI. passed the following Resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:—

That the Assembly, recognising the importance of the question of Eastern Carelia, notes the declaration of the Finnish Delegation that the Finnish Government, in the absence of any decision or any contrary opinion pronounced by any international jurisdiction, maintains its right to consider the clauses of the Treaty of Dorpat and the supplementary declarations relating to the Statute of Eastern Carelia, as agreements of an international order;

And requests the Council to continue to collect all useful information relating to this question with a view to seeking any satisfactory solution rendered possible by subsequent events.

Assembly
Resolution
No. 6
(24 Sept.).

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN ESTHONIA.

81. Committee VI. decided to refrain from examining the question of the protection of minorities in Esthonia, since this appeared to have been settled by an arrangement concluded between the Council and the representative of Esthonia. On the proposal of the Council the Assembly decided to withdraw the question from the agenda.

A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE IN REGARD TO THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

82. A Council resolution of the 5th September 1923 provided *inter alia* that petitions and the observations of the Governments concerned should be communicated to Members of the Council only. The matter was placed on the Assembly's agenda by a resolution moved by Professor Gilbert Murray on the 22nd September, and was considered by Committee VI., which proposed the Resolution given below and adopted by the Assembly on the 26th September:—

In accordance with the resolution of the Council dated 5th September 1923, the communication of minorities petitions shall be restricted to the Members of the Council. By virtue, however, of para. 5 of the Assembly resolution, dated 21st September 1922, the Government of any Member of the League can request the Secretariat to communicate to it any petition (together with the observations of the Government concerned) which have been communicated to the Council.

Other Questions referred to the Fifth Assembly.

83. The Assembly also passed the following resolutions referring the questions mentioned therein to the Fifth Assembly:—

Work of the Latin-American Bureau.

The Assembly, having taken note of the favourable results of the work done by the Latin-American Bureau during the past year and realising that the development of this Bureau offers an effective means of reinforcing an essential liaison between the Governments and the central organs of the League of Nations, resolves to entrust the Secretary-General with the study of a scheme for the reorganisation of the Latin-American Bureau and to request him to submit in due course this draft scheme to the Members of the League of Nations so that the Fifth Assembly may, if circumstances permit, take a decision on the subject.

The Principle of Closer Municipal Relations.

The Assembly decides to place on its Agenda and to refer to the Fifth Assembly of the League the following proposal submitted by the Cuban Delegation:—

"Whereas the maintenance of direct relations between the important Municipalities of the various countries is a new form of co-operation between peoples which will contribute largely to diffusing the ideals which led to the creation of the League of Nations and which guide its work.

"The Assembly decides to accept with the greatest sympathy the principle of closer municipal relations which the Santiago Conference recommended to the members of the Pan-American Union for adoption."

International Arrangements for Legal Justice for the Poor.

The Assembly decides:—

"(a) To place on the Agenda of the Fifth Assembly the question referred to in the memorandum (A. 119, 1923) regarding international arrangements for legal justice for the poor;

"(b) To invite the Secretary-General to prepare a report in the meantime, and to make such enquiries, under the authority of the Council, as may be found desirable, without expenditure of League funds."

Protection of Young Women travelling alone.

The Assembly decides to place on its Agenda and refer to the Fifth Assembly the following proposal submitted by the Cuban Delegation:—

"Young women not having reached their majority and travelling alone shall be required to provide themselves with a certificate from the authorities of the port of disembarkation, containing assurances as to their previous conduct."

Concluding Remarks.

84. The work of the Fourth Assembly was overshadowed by the interest taken in the Italo-Greek dispute which exactly synchronised with the period of the session. When the dispute was originally referred by one of the parties to the Council, some dramatic intervention on the part of the League was expected by its more enthusiastic supporters, and there can be no doubt that corresponding depression was caused by the transference of the question to the Conference of Ambassadors, and was only partially mitigated by the successful termination of the dispute itself. In some quarters the impression unfortunately prevailed that, however much the machinery of the League might be utilised against smaller States, it would not be themselves, and that the protection which membership of the League had been assumed to lend to the smaller States had lost much of its force.

On reflection, however, there appears to be little reason for disappointment. In appealing to the Council, Greece had cited Article 15 of the Covenant. The first duty which that Article imposes on the Council is to endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and it seems clear that other methods of settlement may not be required except in the event of the failure of the ordinary resources of diplomacy. These, however, at the time when the appeal was made had not been adequately tested, for they include not only negotiation between the parties most directly concerned, but also those opportunities of intervention which fall to the principal Powers either expressly under the treaties of peace or as the historical result of the new European settlement. Thus, to transfer the dispute (with suggestions for its settlement) to the Conference of Ambassadors to deal with in the first instance could be regarded as an entirely proper step for the Council to take, and, once this course had been adopted, it was only in the case of failure by the Conference that any question could arise of calling into play what may be called the reserve powers of the League.

85. It is true that certain questions had been raised as to the competence of the League to deal with a dispute of this nature, but in the end the ultimate competence of the Council remained unquestioned, for on 28th September that body was able, with the concurrence of the Italian member, to place on record a Resolution "that any dispute likely to lead to a rupture between members of the League is within the sphere of action of the League, and that if not settled by diplomacy, arbitration or judicial settlement, it is the duty of the Council to deal with it in accordance with the provisions of Article 15 of the Covenant."

86. A Commission of Jurists is to be appointed to consider various questions of great importance arising out of these events, notably the legitimacy of measures of coercion which are not meant to constitute acts of war, the responsibility of a State for crimes against foreigners committed in its territory, and the sphere of the Council's activity when a dispute of which it has been seized is not admitted by one of the parties to be likely to lead to a rupture or when its settlement is being sought through some other channel. It would have been natural, as many people would have preferred, to place these questions before the Permanent Court of International Justice, but as a unanimous decision in this sense could not be obtained, the appointment of a special Commission *ad hoc* was generally regarded as satisfactory, at any rate as a preliminary step towards their solution.

87. In other directions during the past year the League gave some striking evidence of vitality. The success of the financial reconstruction of Austria has been greater than the most sanguine expectations of a year ago, and a similar effort to assist Hungary is now contemplated. Further progress has been made to the end of reducing national armaments; the promising line of approach to this problem opened by the Third Assembly has been followed up, drafts of a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee or Assistance have been under continual expert consideration, and the Fourth Assembly has registered a step in advance by adopting a preliminary draft to be submitted for the opinion of Governments.

It is also worthy of note that in subsidiary but important spheres of the League's activity, a certain measure of co-operation has been lent by the United States of America, representatives of that country having attended meetings of the Advisory Committee on Opium and Drugs and on the Traffic in Women and Children, and the meetings of the Fifth Committee on the former question.

88. The reference to the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts contained in a resolution of the Third Assembly was not further developed at the recent session. Allusion to the subject was made by Professor Gilbert Murray and Dr. Nansen in speeches in the Assembly, and by Sir H. Strakosch in Committee II., but it was generally felt that no useful purpose would be served at the present juncture by suggestions, however indirect, of the possibility of League intervention.

89. The decisions of the Assembly on the subject with which India is at present most closely concerned—that of opium—were not unsatisfactory. Her reservation concerning the use of opium in India was not challenged. It was, however, made evident in the course of the session that the Government of India must be prepared to satisfy doubts exhibited in some quarters as to the validity of the distinction between the uses of raw and prepared opium. Great interest will also attach to the proceedings of the full Conference, for which the Assembly pronounced, with a view to the limitation of the manufacture of drugs and of the production of their raw material.

90. The Delegates of India to the Third Assembly pointed out in their report that the utility of the Assembly's work will depend on the representative character of the Delegates who attend it. We also were impressed by the importance of this question. The tardiness of many Governments in ratifying conventions and other instruments adopted by preceding Assemblies has excited considerable comment, but unless delegations contain representatives fully acquainted with the views of their Governments and qualified to reflect the public opinion of the countries for which they stand, it is unlikely that prompt and full effect will be given to the Assembly's resolutions; some of the latter are also open to criticism on account of their academical or indeterminate character, and there appears to be a danger of energy being dissipated in ways which can obviously lead to no practical results and have little relation to real international problems. On the other hand we were also struck with the advantages presented by the Assembly as a medium for the discussion of those problems. The "Assembly consciousness" which was foreshadowed in the report of the Delegates of India to the First Assembly has rapidly developed, and this is undoubtedly partly due to continuity in the *personnel* of delegations and also to the growing importance attached to adequate representation by many Governments—notably those of the Dominions, some of which were represented at this Assembly by substitute delegates in addition to full delegates, whereas at the First Assembly certain of the Dominions were content with single representatives.

91. In conclusion we would wish to place on record our warm appreciation of the services rendered to the Delegation by Mr. Campbell, Commander C. B. Fry, and by our Secretaries, Mr. Walton and Mr. Ottewill. Mr. Campbell has acquired a very remarkable and precise acquaintance with the history of opium and drugs in all their bearings, and his knowledge and ready use of it was of exceptional advantage to us.

Commander Fry came to Geneva as he had done in 1920 and 1922 as Personal Assistant to His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar. His knowledge and experience of the Assembly were placed freely at our disposal and he was appointed to act as substitute for His Highness in Committees II. and IV., which he did to our complete satisfaction.

Mr. Walton was very assiduous in his work, and by his ability and wide knowledge of the views of the India Office and of the Government of India upon all questions connected with the recent session of the Assembly, rendered very special services which it is a pleasant duty to us to record. We also derived great benefit from the experienced services of Mr. Ottewill, who has now been Assistant Secretary to the Indian Delegation for three successive years and performed his manifold duties with remarkable industry and efficiency.

(Signed) HARDINGE OF PENSHURST.
 RANJIT SINHI OF NAWANAGAR.
 SYED HASAN IMAM.

LONDON, 1st November 1923.

APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Substitute Delegates other than those mentioned in this List, and numerous Expert Advisers.)

ALBANIA.—M. Midhat Frasheri (Minister Plenipotentiary at Athens). M. Benoit Blinishti (Director of the Permanent Albanian Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

ARGENTINE.—Not represented.

AUSTRALIA.—Sir Joseph Cook, P.C., G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London). Sir Neville R. Howse, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.P. M. Herbert R. Brookes.

Substitutes.—Lieut.-Col. D. C. Cameron, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P. Miss Jessie S. W. Webb, M.A.

AUSTRIA.—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Emeric Pfügl (Resident Minister).

BELGIUM.—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister of State, Member of the House of Representatives, former Minister in London, former Minister for Economic Affairs, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Prosper Poullet (Member and former President of the House of Representatives, former Minister for Science and Arts, former Minister for Transport, the Navy, Posts and Telegraphs, Professor of International Law and Diplomatic History at the University of Louvain). His Excellency Baron Beyens (Ambassador to the Holy See, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Louwers (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Henri Rolin (Assistant Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

BOLIVIA.—Not represented.

BRAZIL.—His Excellency M. Afranio de Mello-Franco (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister of State, former Ambassador on special mission in Bolivia, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, Professor at the Faculty of Law of Bello-Horizonte (State of Minas-Geraes), former President of the Brazilian delegation to the fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago). His Excellency M. Raul de Rio-Branco (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Frederico de Castello-Branco Clark (Minister to Venezuela, Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, M.P. (Lord Privy Seal). The Right Hon. Edward Wood, M.P. (President of the Board of Education). The Right Hon. Sir James Rennell Rodd, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

Substitutes.—The Right Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, P.C., K.B.E. Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, G.C.B. Dame Edith Lyttelton.

BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Christo Kalfoff (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Siméon Radeff (former Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Bogdan Moroff (former Minister).

Substitute.—M. Théodore Théodoroff (Legal Adviser, Representative of the Bulgarian Government to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals).

CANADA.—The Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, LL.D., K.C.M.G. (Member of the Privy Council, Minister of Justice). The Hon. George P. Graham, M.P. (Member of the Privy Council, Minister for Railways and Canals). The Hon. Peter C. Larkin (Member of the Privy Council, High Commissioner in London).

CHILE.—His Excellency M. Agustín Edwards (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

CHINA.—His Excellency M. Tang Tsai-Fou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome, Chinese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Tcheng Loh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, former Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Chao-Hsin Chiu (Minister Plenipotentiary, Chargé d'Affaires in London).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

COSTA RICA.—His Excellency M. Manuel de Peralta (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

CUBA.—His Excellency M. Cosme de la Torre y Peraza (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Senate). His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin and Vienna). His Excellency M. José Manuel Cortina (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Ministerial Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanes (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and the Hague). His Excellency M. Carlos de Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Eduard Benes (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephan Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). His Excellency Dr. Robert Flieder (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jan Dvoracek (Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Economic Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Jan Kremer (Professor at the University of Prague). Dr. Vilem Pospisil (Director-General of the Savings Bank at Prague).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). M. Laust Moltzen (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament). M. Peter Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister for Defence, Member of Parliament).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Andreas Oldenburg (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Representative of the Royal Government accredited to the League of Nations Office). M. Holger Andersen (Doctor of Theology, Member of Parliament). M. P. Borghjerg (Member of Parliament, Editor).

ESTHONIA.—His Excellency M. Charles-Robert Pusta (Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). Général Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and National Defence, former Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army). M. Ado Anderkopp (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, War Minister).

ETHIOPIA.—Dedjazinatch Nadeon, Count Robert Lhuant de Bellefonds, Ato Fassika.

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Carl Johan Alexis Euckell (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Woldemar Erieh (Professor of International Law at the University of Helsingfors, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (unattached), former Prime Minister, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Eino Rudolf Woldemar Holsti (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Reval, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitute.—M. Kaarle Väinö Voionmaa (Professor of the History of Finland and of the Northern Countries at the University of Helsingfors, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Léon Bourgeois (former President of the Senate, French Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Gabriel Hanotaux (Member of the French Academy, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Albert François Lebrun (Senator, former Minister).

Substitutes.—M. Henry de Jouvenel (Senator). M. Georges Marie Reynald (Senator). M. Joseph Barthélemy (Professor at the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris and at the School of Political Science, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Assistant Delegate.—M. Jacques Bardoux (Professor at the School of Political Science).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague). His Excellency M. André Michalakopoulos (Minister Plenipotentiary).

Substitute.—M. D. E. Castorakis (former Director of Penal Affairs at the Ministry of Justice, Professor of Penal Law at the University of Athens).

GUATEMALA.—Not represented.

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Bonamy (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

HONDURAS.—M. Carlos Gutierrez (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

HUNGARY.—His Excellency M. Albert de Berzeviczy (Privy Councillor, former Minister for Public Worship and Public Education, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). His Excellency M. Géza de Daruvary (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Général Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister).

Substitute.—Count Alexandre Khuen-Hédervary (First Counsellor of Legation).

INDIA.—The Right Hon. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O. (Privy Councillor, former Viceroy). Lieut.-Col. His Highness Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, G.C.S.I., G.B.E. Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.

Expert.—Mr. J. Campbell, C.S.I., O.B.E.

FREE STATE OF IRELAND.—Mr. W. T. Cosgrave (President of the Executive Council). Mr. John MacNeill (Minister for Public Education). Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Mr. Hugh Kennedy (Attorney-General). Marquis MacSwiney of Mashonaghas. Mr. Osmond Grattan Esmonde, M.P.

Substitute.—Mr. Kevin O'Shiel (Assistant Legal Adviser to the Executive Council).

ITALY.—His Excellency Professor Antonio Salandra (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Prime Minister, Italian Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Giuriati (former Minister for the Liberated Areas). His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja (Professor of Law at the Royal University of Rome, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Count Bonin-Longare (former Ambassador at Paris). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Labour). His Excellency Count Tosti di Valminuta (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). M. Boggiano Pico (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Paolo Bignami. M. Francesco Coppola (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

JAPAN.—His Excellency Viscount K. Ishii (Ambassador to the French Republic). His Excellency M. Minōiteirō Adatei (Ambassador to Belgium). His Excellency M. A. Ariyoshi (Minister at Berne).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. M. Matsuda (Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Japanese League of Nations Office). M. S. Okuyama (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Head of the Japanese League of Nations Office). M. Y. Sugimura (Secretary of Embassy). M. S. Uchino (Medical Expert).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Zigfrīds A. Meierovics (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Michel Walters (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). M. Voldemars Salnais (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Olgerd Grosvald (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). M. Vilis Schumanns (Director of the Political and Economic Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LIBERIA.—Baron Auguste Lehmann (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

LITHUANIA.—M. Vincas Sidzikauskas (Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin). M. Ignace Jonynas (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Boyas Zaunius (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Prague).

LUXEMBURG.—M. Tony Lefort (Councillor of State, former Minister at Berne).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency Jonkheer J. London (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Jonkheer O. F. A. M. van Nispen tot Sevenaer (Doctor of Law, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See, former President of the Second Chamber of the States General). Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden).

Substitutes.—M. J. Limburg (Doctor of Law, President of the Order of Barristers at The Hague, former Member of the Second Chamber of States General, Member of the Executive Committee of the States Provincial of Southern Holland). M. J. P. A. Francois (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam).

NEW ZEALAND.—Col. the Hon. Sir James Allen, K.C.B. (High Commissioner in London).

NICARAGUA.—Not represented.

NORWAY.—Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Christiania). His Excellency M. Otto Albert Blehr. M. Ivan Lykke (President of the Storting).

PANAMA.—M. Antonio Burgos. M. Raoul A. Amador (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PARAGUAY.—Dr. Ramon Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PERU.—Not represented.

PERSIA.—His Highness Prince Mirza Riza Khan Arfaed-Dovleh (Ambassador, former Minister of Justice). His Excellency l'Emir S. K. G. Zokaed-Dovleh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Constantin Skirmunt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Henry Strasburger (Minister Plenipotentiary, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, former Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry). His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. François Sokal (Polish Delegate on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office). Prince S. Czetywyski (Member of the Diet, *Rapporteur* of the Committee for Military Affairs). M. Bohdan Winiarski (Professor of the Faculty of Law at the University of Poznan, Member of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency M. João Chagas (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency General A. Freire d'Andrade (former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitute.—His Excellency Dr. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Constantin Georges Dissesco (Senator, former Minister of State, Professor at the University of Bucharest). His Excellency M. Cornélius Manolesco-Rainicenco (former Senior President of the Supreme Court of Appeal and Justice). His Excellency M. Titulesco (Minister in London).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. N. Petresco-Comnène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco. Professor Sextil Puscariu (Professor at the University of Cluj).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency M. Gustave Guerrero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Italy and France).

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister at Paris, Siamese Representative accredited to the Secretariat of the League). His Excellency Phya Saupakitch Preecha (Minister at Rome). His Highness Prince Damras Damrong (Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague).

Substitutes.—M. Nai T. L. Hoontrakool (Third Secretary of Legation at Paris). M. Khun Binsj Bisdara (Third Secretary of Legation at Paris).

SOUTH AFRICA.—General the Right Hon. Jan Christiaan Smuts, C.H., K.C., M.L.A. (Prime Minister). The Hon. Sir Edgar Harris Walton, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London). Sir Henry Strakosch, Kt.

Substitute.—Professor George Gilbert Aimé Murray, LL.D., D.Litt.

SPAIN.—His Excellency le Comte de Gimeno (former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Ambassador at Paris, Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations).

Substitute.—Rear-Admiral Marquis de Magaz.

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar Branting (former Prime Minister). Baron Marks von Wuertemberg (former Minister, President of the Court of Appeal at Stockholm). M. Jonas Eliel Loefgren (former Minister of Justice).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Baron Sten Gustaf Fredrik Troil Ramel (Minister at Berlin). Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell (Master of Law). M. Oesten Uden (former Minister of Justice).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Head of the Federal Political Department, Federal Councillor). His Excellency M. Gustave Ador (former Federal Councillor, President of the International Red Cross Committee). Dr. Robert Forrer (Doctor of Law, National Councillor).

Substitutes.—M. Henri Bolli (Member of the Council of States). Professor Walther Bueckhardt (Chancellor of the Berne University).

THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency Dr. Montchilo Nitchitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency Dr. Lazar Markovitch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister of Justice).

Substitutes.—Dr. Vassa I. Yovanovitch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Barrister). M. Rani-slav Avramovitch (Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of Transport). Dr. Milorad Straznitsky (Professor at the University of Zagreb).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency M. Alberto Guani (Minister at Brussels, Representative of Uruguay on the Council of the League of Nations). M. Juan José Amézaga (Professor of the Faculty of Law at the University of Montevideo, President of the National Assurance Bank, former Minister). His Excellency M. Benjamin Fernandez Medina (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid).

Substitute.—His Excellency M. Enrique Buero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency Dr. José Gil Fortoul (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris and Berne, former Senator, former President of the Governing Council in charge of the Presidency of the Republic). His Excellency M. César Zameta (Special Commissioner for the study of the commercial situation and of the state of navigation in different countries, former Senator, former Minister of the Interior). Dr. C. Parra-Perez (Counsellor of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland).

APPENDIX II.

Miscellaneous Documents.

ANNEX I.—*Rules of Procedure of the Assembly (as amended by the Second and Third and Fourth Assemblies).*

Rule 1.—(1) The Assembly shall meet in General Session every year, at the seat of the League of Nations, commencing on the first Monday in September.

(2) Sessions may also be held at such times as the Assembly at a previous meeting decides, and at such times as the Council, by a majority vote, decides.

(3) If a Member of the League considers a Session to be desirable, it may request the Secretary-General to summon a Special Session of the Assembly. The Secretary-General shall thereupon inform the other Members of the League of the request, and enquire whether they concur in it. If within a period of one month from the date of the communication of the Secretary-General a majority of the members concur in the request, a special Session of the Assembly shall be summoned.

Rule 2.—The Sessions of the Assembly shall be held at the seat of the League, or, in exceptional circumstances, at such other place as is designated by the Assembly or by a majority of the Council, or approved by a majority of the Members of the League.

Rule 3.—(1) The Sessions of the Assembly shall be summoned by the President of the Council, acting through the Secretary-General.

(2) The summons shall be addressed to the Members of the League not less than four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session. In exceptional circumstances, however, the Council, by a majority vote, may sanction a shorter period.

(3) Nothing contained in para. (2) of this Rule shall affect the provisions concerning special cases, contained in the Covenant.

Rule 4.—(1) The agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General with the approval of the President of the Council. The complete agenda shall be circulated as nearly as possible four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session.

(2) The agenda of a general session shall include:—

(a) A report on the work of the Council since the last Session, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly;

(b) All items whose inclusion has been ordered by the Assembly, at a previous Session;

(c) All items proposed by the Council;

(d) All items proposed by a Member of the League; and

(e) The Budget for the next fiscal period, and the report on the accounts of the last fiscal period.

(3) Any Member of the League may, at least one month before the date fixed for the opening of the Session, request the inclusion of additional items in the agenda. Such items shall be placed on a supplementary list, which shall be circulated to the Members of the League at least three weeks before the date fixed for the opening of the Session. The Assembly shall decide whether items on the supplementary list shall be included in the agenda of the Session.

(4) The Assembly may, in exceptional circumstances, place additional items on the agenda; but all consideration of such items shall, unless otherwise ordered by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, be postponed until four days after they have been placed on the agenda, and until a committee has reported upon them.

(5) No proposal for a modification of the allocation of expenses for the time being in force shall be inserted in the agenda unless it has been communicated to the Members of the League at least four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session.

Rule 5.—(1) Each Member shall communicate to the Secretary-General, if possible before the date fixed for the opening of the Session, the names of its Representatives, of whom there shall be not more than three. The names of Substitute-Representatives may be added.

(2) Each Representative shall, as soon as possible, and preferably before the opening of the Session, present his credentials to the Secretary-General.

(3) A committee of eight members for the examination of the credentials shall be elected by the Assembly by secret ballot. The committee shall report without delay.

(4) Any Representative to whose admission objection has been made shall sit provisionally with the same rights as other Representatives, unless the Assembly decides otherwise.

Rule 6.—(1) In addition to the Substitute-Representatives mentioned in para. (1) of Rule 5, the Representatives of a Member of the League attending the Assembly, acting together as a Delegation, may appoint substitutes. Any such appointment shall be communicated in writing to the President.

(2) A Substitute-Representative appointed by a Member of the League may take the place of a Representative without nomination by the Representatives.

(3) A Substitute-Representative or substitute may take the place of a Representative who is absent from a meeting of the Assembly, or is temporarily prevented from taking part in its deliberations, but if the Representative is present at the meeting the Substitute-Representative or substitute is only entitled to assist him.

(4) A Delegation may appoint for service on a committee a deputy or technical adviser other than those referred to in the above paragraphs of this Rule; but a deputy or adviser so appointed shall not be eligible for appointment as Chairman or *Rapporteur*, or for a seat in the Assembly.

Rule 7.—(1) The officers of the Assembly shall consist of a President and of six Vice-Presidents, together with the Chairmen of the main Committees of the Assembly, who shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Assembly. These officers shall form the General Committee.

(2) The President shall be elected at the beginning of each session.

(3) Until the election of the President, the President of the Council shall act as President of the Assembly.

(4) The election of the Vice-Presidents shall take place at one of the early meetings of the Session.

Rule 8.—(1) The President shall announce the opening, suspension and adjournment of the meetings of the Assembly, direct the work of the Assembly, ensure the observance of the Rules of Procedure, accord the right to address the Assembly, declare the debates to be closed, put questions to the vote, and announce the result of the voting.

(2) In the general direction of the work of the Assembly, in the constitution of such committees as the Assembly decides to create, in deciding on the communications to be made to the Assembly, in the framing of the agenda for each meeting, and in the determination of the order of priority for its various items, the President shall be assisted by the General Committee.

Rule 9.—(1) The Secretary-General shall be responsible for the organisation of the Secretariat of the Assembly and of the Secretariat of any committees set up by the Assembly.

(2) The Secretary-General may be assisted or replaced at the meetings of the Assembly by a deputy or deputies. The Secretary-General, or one of his deputies, may at any time, on the invitation of the President, bring before the Assembly reports concerning any question which is being considered by the Assembly, and may be invited by the President to make verbal communications concerning any question under consideration.

Rule 10.—(1) It shall be the duty of the Secretariat, *inter alia*, to receive, print, circulate and translate documents, reports and resolutions; to translate speeches made at the meetings; to draft, print, and circulate the Minutes of the Session; to have the custody and proper preservation of the documents in the archives of the Assembly; to publish the reports of the meetings; and, generally, to perform all other work which the Assembly thinks fit to entrust to it.

(2) All documents emanating from the Assembly shall be circulated to the Governments of the Members of the League.

Rule 11.—(1) The public shall be admitted to the plenary meetings of the Assembly by cards distributed by the Secretary-General.

(2) The Assembly may decide that particular meetings shall be private.

(3) All decisions of the Assembly upon items on the agenda, which have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at a public meeting of the Assembly.

Rule 12.—A list of the attendance at each meeting of the Assembly shall be kept by the Secretariat.

Rule 13.—At the beginning of each meeting the President shall present to the Assembly all communications addressed to the Assembly or to the League, the importance of which appears to him to warrant such action.

Rule 14.—(1) The Assembly shall establish such committees as it thinks fit, for the consideration of the items on the agenda. Items of the same nature will be referred to the same committee.

(2) The Assembly shall not decide items on the agenda in full meeting until the report of a committee upon them has been presented and circulated, unless the Assembly itself, by a two-thirds majority, determines otherwise.

Reports by a Committee involving the expenditure of money must indicate whether the expenditure will constitute part of the general expenses of the League or whether it will be recovered from the Members of the League particularly concerned.

Reports by a Committee other than the Finance Committee recommending action which will involve the expenditure of money shall be accompanied by as close an estimate as time and circumstances allow of the amount of the expenditure involved. This estimate shall, before the matter is brought before the Assembly, be submitted to the Finance Committee in order that it may be checked by that Committee.

No resolution involving expenditure shall in any case be voted by the Assembly before the Finance Committee shall have expressed its opinion on the advisability of the proposed expenditure from the point of view of general budgetary resources.

(3) Each Delegation may designate one member, and may nominate technical advisers for each committee.

(4) Each committee shall appoint its Chairman and *Rapporteur*.

(5) Each committee may appoint sub-committees, which shall elect their own officers.

(6) Each committee shall meet in private unless it decides otherwise. It shall keep a Register of its discussions, and Minutes, which shall be published at the earliest possible date, but not until they have been approved by the committee. They may at any time be consulted by any Member of the Assembly.

(7) Every representative shall have the right to place before any committee any communication which he considers should be made to it, but no representative may, without special leave from the Chairman, speak at a meeting of any committee of which he is not a member.

(8) The Secretary-General or his deputies may make to any committee or sub-committee any report or verbal communication which he or they may consider desirable.

*Rule 15.**—(1) No representative may address the Assembly without having previously obtained the permission of the President.

(2) Speakers shall be called upon in the order in which they have signified their desire to speak. The Chairman and the *Rapporteur* of a committee may be accorded precedence for the purpose of defending or explaining the conclusions arrived at by their committee. The same principle shall apply to any Member of the Council.

(3) The President may call a speaker to order if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion. If necessary, he may direct the speaker to resume his seat.

(4) When a motion is under discussion, a representative may rise to a point of order, and such point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

(5) The Assembly may limit the time allowed to each speaker.

Rule 16.—(1) Speeches in French shall be summarised in English, and *vice versa*, by an interpreter belonging to the Secretariat.

(2) A Representative speaking in another language shall provide for the translation of his speech into one of these two languages.

(3) All documents, resolutions and reports circulated by the President or the Secretariat shall be rendered in both French and English.

(4) Any Representative may have documents circulated in a language other than French or English, but the Secretariat will not be responsible for their translation or printing.

(5) Any Member of the League, or any group of Members, may require that all documents and publications of the League shall be regularly translated into, and printed and circulated in, a language other than French and English, but shall in such case defray all the necessary expenses.

Rule 17.—(1) Resolutions, amendments and motions must be introduced in writing and handed to the President. The President shall cause copies to be distributed to the Representatives.

(2) As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all Representatives not later than the day preceding the meeting.

(3) The President may, however, permit the discussion and consideration of amendments, or of motions as to procedure, without previous circulation of copies.

Rule 18.—(1) During the discussion of any question, any Representative may move the previous question or the adjournment. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two Representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion.

(2) Parts of a proposal shall be voted on separately, if a Representative requests that the proposal be divided.

(3) A Representative may at any time move the closure of the debate, whether any other Representative has signified his wish to speak or not. If application is made for permission to speak against the closure, it may be accorded to not more than two speakers.

* (1) The right to speak at the Assembly before any other speakers shall be accorded to a representative of a State Member of the Council.

(2) This right is only conferred in cases where the delegate wishes to speak for the purpose of defending or explaining to the Assembly the views, decisions or actions of the Council which are under discussion (Conclusions of General Committee (*Journal of the Third Assembly*, No. 14, 19th September 1922).

† See Appendix III., Annex I. (p. 52), as to the application of these Rules in the case of the Budget.

(1) The President shall take the sense of the Assembly on a motion for closure. If the Assembly decides in favour of the closure, the President shall declare the closure of the debate.

²(5) When a number of proposals are before the Assembly, the proposal furthest removed in substance from the principal one shall be voted on first.

³(6) If an amendment striking out part of a proposal is moved, the Assembly shall first vote on whether the words in question shall stand part of the proposal. If the decision is in the negative, the amendment shall then be put to the vote.

⁴(7) When an amendment adds to a proposal it shall be voted on first, and if it is adopted the amended proposal shall then be voted on.

Rule 19.—(1) Except where otherwise expressly provided in the Covenant or by the terms of a treaty, decisions of the Assembly shall be taken by an unanimous vote of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(2) All matters of procedure at a meeting of the Assembly, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(3) All decisions taken in virtue of these Rules shall be considered as matters of procedure.

(4) A majority decision requires the affirmative votes of more than half of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(5) For the purposes of this Rule, Representatives who abstain from voting shall be considered as not present.

Rule 20.—The Assembly shall vote by "Appel Nominal," except when the Members of the League represented at the meeting agree that the method of voting shall be by heads of Delegations rising in their seats, and except in the cases provided for in Rule 21. The "Appel Nominal" shall be taken in one of the following manners as the Assembly may decide:—

(a) The name of each Delegation shall be called, and one of its Members shall reply "Yes," "No," or "Not Voting." The result of the vote shall be recorded and announced to the Assembly; or

(b) The Delegation of each Member of the League represented at the meeting shall be provided with two voting tickets, on which the name of the country is written, one red and one blue, the former being "Aye," the latter "No." The voting tickets shall be deposited in an urn placed near the President's platform. When all the votes have been collected, the President shall declare the ballot closed, and the General Committee shall proceed to count the votes. The individual votes shall be communicated to the Assembly and the result shall be announced by the President.

Rule 21.—(1) All decisions relating to individuals shall be taken by a secret ballot.

(2) If, when one person only is to be elected, no one person obtains at the first ballot an absolute majority of votes, an entirely new ballot shall be taken, but on this occasion the voting shall be confined to the two candidates who obtained the largest number of votes at the first ballot. If there is at this ballot an equality of votes for the two candidates, the elder candidate shall be declared elected.

(3) When a number of elective places of the same nature are to be filled at one time, those persons who obtain an absolute majority at the first ballot shall be elected. If the number of persons obtaining such majority is less than the number of persons to be elected, there shall be a second ballot to fill the remaining places, the voting being restricted to the unsuccessful candidates who obtained the greatest number of votes at the first ballot, not more than double in number the places remaining to be filled. Those candidates, to the number required to be elected who receive the greatest number of votes at the second ballot shall be declared elected.

Rule 22.—In case of equality in any voting other than that referred to in Rule 21, in which a majority is required, a second vote shall be taken in the course of the next meeting, this meeting shall be held within 48 hours from the date on which the first vote was taken, and it shall be expressly mentioned on the agenda that a second vote will be taken on the matter in question. Unless there is at this subsequent meeting a majority in favour of the proposal, it shall be considered as lost.

Rule 22c.—

(1) The members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

(2) Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

(3) No member shall be elected at the first or the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remains seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and these members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

(4) If two or more members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.

Rule 23.—(1) The President may declare a meeting to be adjourned or suspended, if a proposal for adjournment or suspension made by him does not meet with objection from the Assembly.

(2) The President shall declare an adjournment or suspension of the meeting upon a vote to this effect by the Assembly.

Rule 24.—The General Committee, in cases where it deems it necessary, may revise the resolutions adopted by the Assembly, changing their form but not their substance. Any such changes shall be reported to the Assembly.

Rule 25.—The verbatim report of each meeting shall be drawn up by the Secretariat and submitted to the Assembly after approval by the President.

* See Appendix III, Annex I, (p. 52), as to the application of these Rules in the case of the Budget.

Rule 26.—The resolutions adopted by the Assembly shall be circulated by the Secretary-General to the Members of the League within 15 days after the termination of the Session.

Rule 27.—These Rules of Procedure shall apply to the proceedings of committees of the Assembly.

Rule 28.—These Rules of Procedure may be altered by a decision of the Assembly; but no such alteration shall be made except upon a majority vote of the Assembly, taken after a committee has reported on the proposed alteration.

ANNEX II.—*Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations* (as amended by the Fourth Assembly).

DEFINITIONS.

In these Regulations:—

The “League” includes the Secretariat and all autonomous and non-autonomous organisations.

“Assembly” means the Assembly of the League of Nations.

“Council” means the Council of the League of Nations.

“Autonomous organisations” include the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and any autonomous organisation hereafter created by the Assembly.

The word autonomous has reference solely to the separation of the financial administration of such organisations from that of the Secretariat and does not imply any wider consequences.

“Competent authority” means (a) in the case of the Secretariat and non-autonomous organisations, the Council, (b) in the case of the International Labour Organisation, the Governing Body of the Labour Office, and (c) in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Court.

“Competent official” means (a) in the case of the Secretariat and non-autonomous organisations, the Secretary-General, (b) in the case of the International Labour Organisation, the Director of the Labour Office, and (c) in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Registrar of the Court; or the duly authorised deputies of these officials.

“Non-autonomous organisations” include all organisations of the League (other than the autonomous organisations) which do not form part of the general services of the Secretariat.

“Commission” means the Supervisory Commission.

“Rapporteur” means the Rapporteur of the Commission.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

Article 1.—(1) There shall be a Supervisory Commission to perform the duties assigned to it by these Regulations, and to deal with any other special matters referred to it by the Assembly or the Council.

(2) The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Council, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries, Members of the League, which are not represented on the Council.

The Council shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting.

(3) The term of office of members of the Commission shall be three years corresponding to three financial years of the League, and retiring members shall be eligible for reappointment, but—

(a) the whole Commission shall not be renewed simultaneously; and, in order to establish a system of partial annual renewal, the members who were in office before the adoption of these Regulations shall retire as follows: at the end of each of the years 1923 and 1924 two members, and at the end of 1925 the remaining member, the order of retirement being determined by lot;

(b) any vacancy caused by the death or resignation of a member before the end of his term of office shall be filled by appointing a member to hold office until the end of the term of office of the member deceased or resigning.

Article 2.—(1) The Commission shall appoint from its members a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Rapporteur for each financial year. They shall be eligible for reappointment.

(2) The Rapporteur shall be generally responsible for the preparation of the work of the Commission before its plenary meetings. He shall ascertain that the decisions taken by the Commission at its meetings are carried out, and shall execute all duties placed upon him by these Regulations or by the Commission.

Article 3.—(1) The Commission shall hold its sessions at Geneva, or, exceptionally and subject to the condition that greater expenditure will not be incurred, at such other place as may be decided by a vote of its members. Suitable office accommodation, as required, shall be provided by the Secretary-General for the Commission and the Rapporteur.

(2) The Secretary-General shall place the necessary clerical assistance at the disposal of the Commission and the Rapporteur. An official of the Secretariat, who shall be assisted by an official of the International Labour Office, shall act as Secretary of the Commission.

Article 4.—(1) An auditor, who shall be a person in no way in the service of any of the organisations of the League, shall be appointed by the Council on the proposal of the Commission.

(2) The auditor shall be appointed for a period of five years, and shall not be removable except by the Council and on the proposal of the Commission, with reasons stated.

(3) During his presence at the seat of any League organisation for the purposes of an audit, the auditor shall receive subsistence allowance and such other allowances as the Commission may determine, and his necessary travelling expenses shall be refunded on production of a duly certified statement.

Article 5.—(1) The competent officials shall, on their request, be heard by the Commission, whenever it is in session, and shall appear before the Commission at its request. Other officials shall appear before and give information to the Commission on a request to that effect being addressed by the Commission to the competent officials.

(2) While the Commission is not in session the *Rapporteur* if present at the seat of the League or of one of its organisations for the discharge of his duties shall be entitled to obtain information from officials in accordance with the preceding paragraph. The *Rapporteur* shall submit to the Chairman of the Commission any question which the competent officials request him so to submit.

(3) The Commission shall supply the Council with any information relating to its work which the Council may require.

Article 6.—All organisations of the League, autonomous and non-autonomous, and all temporary organisations hereafter created under the auspices of the League, whether their expenditure is or is not, in whole or in part, met out of the votes of the Assembly, shall comply with these regulations and with every decision of the Assembly governing financial and budgetary administration.

CHAPTER II

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF LEAGUE ORGANISATIONS.

Article 6.—All organisations of the League, autonomous and non-autonomous, and all temporary organisations hereafter created under the auspices of the League, whether their expenditure is or is not, in whole or in part met out of the votes of the Assembly shall comply with these Regulations, and with every decision of the Assembly governing financial and budgetary administration.

Article 7.—(1) The financial administration of autonomous organisations shall be independent of the financial administration of the Secretariat, subject always to the provisions of these Regulations.

(2) The financial administration of the non-autonomous organisations shall be an integral part of the financial administration of the Secretariat.

(3) The Secretary-General acting in consultation with the Advisory Committee of the organisation (if any), shall be responsible for estimating the financial requirements of the non-autonomous organisations and for submitting such estimates. He shall likewise be responsible for the expenditure of all funds voted for these organisations and for the appropriation of such expenditure to the proper items of the Budget.

(4) In the case of an autonomous organisation the responsibilities dealt with in para. (3) shall rest upon the competent official or competent authority.

CHAPTER III

DRAWING UP THE BUDGET.

Article 8.—The financial year of the League shall be the calendar year.

Article 9.—(1) For every financial year estimates shall be made of the expenditure to be incurred by the League.

(2) The estimates shall be divided into separate parts: (a) for the Secretariat, (b) for each autonomous organisation, and (c) for the Working Capital Fund, when it is necessary to ask for contributions to this fund, in accordance with the model shown in the annex.

(3) Each part (except that relating to the Working Capital Fund) shall be divided into two sections, one for ordinary expenditure and the other for capital expenditure.

(4) The Sections referred to in para. (3) shall be subdivided into Chapters corresponding to the various services or categories of expenditure. The different organisations shall aim at uniformity of arrangement.

Article 10.—(1) There shall be included in the part of the Budget dealing with the expenses of the Secretariat the cost of sessions of the Council and the Assembly, the cost of all non-autonomous organisations, and any expenses of a bureau or commission which the Council may decide so to include in the expenses of the Secretariat in accordance with Article 24 of the Covenant.

(2) There shall be separate Chapters for each of these categories of expenditure and for the general expenses of the Secretariat.

Article 11.—The general Budget of the League shall be preceded by a summary of the estimated income and expenditure for all the organisations covered by the Budget. This statement shall set out the amount required to cover—

(a) ordinary expenditure,

(b) capital expenditure,

(c) contributions, when necessary, to the Working Capital Fund.

Article 12.—(1) Each Part of the Budget as defined in Article 9 shall consist of—

(a) A summary of Chapters.

(b) A full statement of items showing for each, in addition to the sum asked for, the sum voted for the current year, and the sum voted for and the amount actually expended in the preceding year.

(c) Wherever possible detailed schedules and explanatory statements. The schedules shall be subdivided in accordance with the principles of Article 9.

(2) Important differences in the amounts estimated during successive years for the same items shall be fully explained by means of notes.

Article 13.—A list showing the names of the officials of the Secretariat and of other organisations, and setting out their nationalities, duties, salaries, and entertainment and house allowances (if any), shall be confidentially circulated to the Members of the League at the same time as the Budget and to the Assembly at its regular annual session.

Article 14.—Modifications proposed in the estimates after the Budget has been circulated to the Members of the League shall, as far as possible, be included in one document, if necessary, a revised Budget shall be substituted for the original Budget. A supplementary Budget may be submitted to the Assembly by its Finance Committee.

CHAPTER IV.

ADOPTION OF THE BUDGET.

Article 15.—(1) The Secretary-General shall arrange for the Budget and the Annexes, as described in the preceding chapter, together with a general introduction, to be submitted to the Commission before the 1st May of each year.

(2) In order to enable the Secretary-General to comply with the provisions of para. (1), the competent officials of the autonomous organisations shall supply the Secretary-General with the data required on or before a date to be fixed by the Secretary-General in agreement with the officials concerned.

Article 16.—(1) The Commission shall annually examine the Budget and prepare a report thereon in time for both documents to be despatched to the Council and the Members of the League three months before the regular annual session of the Assembly.

(2) The observations of the Council upon the Budget and upon the report of the Commission shall be despatched to the Members of the League in time for them to be received at least one month before the regular annual session of the Assembly.

(3) When the Commission is considering their respective Budgets, the autonomous organisations shall be represented before the Commission in such manner as they may decide and the Commission approve. A non-autonomous organisation shall be represented by the Secretary-General, assisted by one of the officials especially responsible for its work, and, if so requested, by a member of the Advisory Committee.

(4) The Commission may not amend the Budget, as presented to it, but may propose modifications. The Commission will discuss such modifications (if any) with the competent official or authority, and report its conclusions to the Council and the Assembly.

(5) A short session of the Supervisory Commission shall be held each year during the meeting of the Assembly.

(6) It shall be the duty of the Commission at this session to examine all amendments to the Budget.

(7) The estimates in their final form shall be considered and reported upon by the Supervisory Commission before their submission to the Financial Committee of the Assembly.

Article 17.—(1) The Assembly shall not consider the Budget in plenary session until its Finance Committee has considered the Budget and the report of the Commission, and has presented its report.

(2) The Assembly may in plenary session make any amendments in the Budget which it may consider desirable. The consideration and the adoption of the Budget by the Assembly shall be governed by the rules made by the Assembly in that respect in exercise of the powers vested in it by the Covenant.

Article 18.—(1) When the Assembly or its Finance Committee discusses the budget of any autonomous organisation, such organisation may delegate one representative to assist at the meetings of the Assembly and as many representatives as the Finance Committee may approve to assist at the meetings of the Finance Committee. Such representative or representatives may be heard, but shall not address the meeting except on the invitation of the President.

(2) The Advisory Committee of a non-autonomous organisation may, in like manner, send a representative to attend at meetings of the Finance Committee of the Assembly at which its budget is discussed.

Article 19.—(1) Modifications in the Part of the Budget dealing with the Secretariat proposed by the Secretary-General before the opening of the Assembly, shall, as far as possible, be submitted to the Council. Proposals for modification of a Part dealing with an autonomous organisation shall similarly be submitted to the competent authority of the organisation.

(2) In accordance with para. 2 of Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, and subject to any amendment thereof, the following rules shall apply:—

(a) Reports by a Committee involving the expenditure of money must indicate whether the expenditure will constitute part of the general expenses of the League or whether it will be recovered from the Members of the League particularly concerned.

(b) Reports by a Committee other than the Finance Committee recommending action which will involve the expenditure of money shall be accompanied by as close an estimate as time and circumstances allow of the amount of the expenditure involved. This estimate shall, before the matter is brought before the Assembly, be submitted to the Fourth Committee in order that it may be checked by that Committee.

(c) No resolution involving expenditure shall in any case be voted by the Assembly before the Finance Committee shall have expressed its opinion on the advisability of the proposed expenditure from the point of view of general budgetary resources.

(3) In the cases contemplated by sub-paras. (b) and (c) of para. 2, before the proposed credits are considered by the Finance Committee they shall be submitted to the Supervisory Commission, which shall report thereon. The Supervisory Commission shall, in the first place, consider whether a proposal for additional expenditure can be adopted or whether it would not be advisable to postpone such expenditure.

CHAPTER V.

COLLECTION OF FUNDS.

Article 20.—The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant.

Article 21.—(1) As soon as possible after the Assembly has adopted the Budget, and the total amount voted has been apportioned among the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant, the Secretary-General shall transmit all relevant documents to the Members of the League and request them to remit their contributions as soon as possible after the beginning of the financial year for which they are due, and, in any case, to give notice when payment may be anticipated.

(2) If payment has not been made, and notice as to the anticipated date of payment has not been given, by the first day of April following, the Secretary-General shall repeat his request. He shall again repeat his request at the end of three months, and at the end of a further three months, if such notice has still not been given, and if payment of the contribution has not in the meantime been made.

(3) If, when notice is given, the date proposed is too late to meet the needs of the League, the Secretary-General shall explain the position to the Member concerned. If no payment is made on the date proposed by the Member of the League or afterwards agreed upon, the Secretary-General shall be guided as to the action to be taken by the rule of para. (2).

(4) At the first session of the Council held after each of the dates mentioned in para. (2), the Secretary-General shall present to the Council a statement on the general financial position and on the steps which he has taken. A similar statement shall annually be presented to the Assembly. The Assembly will take such action as it may deem proper.

Article 22.—(1) States, not Members of the League, which have been admitted members of any organisation of the League, shall, in the absence of any contrary provision, contribute towards the expenses of the organisation concerned as nearly as possible in the proportion in which they would contribute to such expenses if they were Members of the League. This provision shall not apply to the case of a State, not a Member of the League, which accepts an invitation to participate in the work of a League organisation without any condition as to contributing to the expenses of the organisation.

(2) The total amount receivable in accordance with para. (1) shall be shown separately in the Budget, and, when received, shall be applied to reduce the total sum chargeable for the following year to the Members of the League.

(3) In the case of non-autonomous organisations, the Secretary-General shall secure that the amounts referred to in para. (1) are collected. Autonomous organisations shall themselves collect such amounts: the rules laid down in Article 21 shall apply as far as possible, and the competent officials shall supply the Secretary-General with the information necessary for the application of those rules.

Article 23. Receipts other than contributions payable by Governments, such as receipts from the sale of publications and other miscellaneous sources, and interest shall as far as possible be estimated in advance and be deducted, as appropriations in aid, from the estimates put forward in the Budget.

A summary of such receipts, if any, arising under each part of the Budget shall be set out as an appendix to the part under which they arise.

Article 23b.—(1) Gifts which may directly or indirectly involve an immediate or ultimate financial liability for the Members of the League may only be accepted after authorisation by the Assembly.

(2) Gifts not involving any financial liability for the Members of the League may be accepted by the Council or, where offered to an autonomous organisation, by the competent authority of the organisation, if the Council or the authority is satisfied that acceptance will not undesirably affect the general character of the League or the special organisation in question and is in accordance with the general policy which should be pursued.

CHAPTER VI.

APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS.

Article 24. The adoption of a Budget by the Assembly shall constitute an authorisation by the competent officials or authorities to incur expenditure, during the year to which the Budget relates, for the purposes for which money has been voted in the Budget up to, but not exceeding, the amounts so voted.

Article 25. The competent officials shall not allow any money to be expended for any purpose in excess of the amount provided in the Budget for such purpose. In order to prevent any such excess of expenditure, they shall cause all payments, as made, to be appropriated to the proper item of the Budget, and shall keep a record of such appropriations and of liabilities incurred showing at all times the amount available under each item.

Article 26.—(1) On the receipt of each contribution, the Secretary-General shall distribute to the competent officials of the autonomous organisations the proportional amount to which each organisation is entitled. The share of each autonomous organisation shall bear the same proportion to the whole contribution as the estimates of such organisation bear to the whole estimates of expenditure of the League for the year to which the contribution relates.

(2) The Secretariat and the autonomous organisations shall share in the Working Capital Fund in a proportion determined, *mutatis mutandis*, on the principle of para. (1).

(3) Where the current requirements of the Secretariat, or of an autonomous organisation, within the limits of its budget, cannot be met out of its proportional share of the contributions hitherto received or other income, the Secretary-General shall make advances to meet such requirements out of the Working Capital Fund up to the amount of the organisation's proportional share in the fund. An organisation may be advanced more than its proportional share of the fund as a temporary loan with the consent of the competent officials of the organisation, whose shares are thereby diminished.

Article 27.—(1) Where the advances which can be made under the preceding Article are not sufficient, the Secretary-General shall have power to contract loans within the limits of the Budget and with the approval of the Council, or, if the Council is not in session, of the President of the Council.

(2) The interest on such loans shall be charged to the various organisations in the proportion in which they benefit from them: but if any organisation has already received more than its proportional share of the Working Capital Fund, it shall, as from the date of contracting the loan, be charged interest on such excess as though it were money derived from the loan, and an equal amount of the loan shall be available, without interest, for the organisations whose shares of working capital have been depleted.

(3) The Secretary-General shall not borrow for any organisation in any year more than its proportional share (calculated on the same principle as its proportional share in contributions) of the total amount which he estimates that he can borrow during such year.

Article 28.—When a sum is voted in the Budget by the Assembly without specification of the precise purposes for which it is to be applied, no part of such sum shall be expended until a detailed statement as to the nature and object of the expenditure has been considered and approved by the competent authority.

Article 29.—(1) Transfers from one item to another of the same Chapter of the Budget may be effected by special resolutions of the competent authority. Such resolutions shall at once be communicated to all Members of the League and to the Assembly at the beginning of its regular annual session.

(2) Except as provided in Article 33, no transfer other than those mentioned in para. (1) above shall be made.

Article 30.—(1) Payments in respect of transactions for which provision is made in the Budget of the particular year, and which take place before 31st December of that year, may be charged to the accounts of that year if they are made not later than 15th February of the following year.

(2) Persons to whom any payment is due out of the Budget for any year shall be requested to submit their accounts in good time before 15th February of the following year, and shall, so far as is possible, be tendered payment before that date.

(3) There shall be included in each Part of the Budget for each year a fund, known as the "Unpaid Liabilities Fund," for the purpose of enabling the competent officials to pay debts which are due in respect of transactions covered by the Budget for the previous year, but which could not be paid in time to be chargeable to such year owing to unavoidable or excusable delay in the presentation or settlement of the accounts.

(4) Creditors who, after their attention has been called to the provisions of this Article, neglect to present their accounts in time to allow of payment by the prescribed date, if they cannot be paid out of the Unpaid Liabilities Fund without preventing payment therefrom of creditors who satisfy the requirements of para. 3, shall be informed that their accounts cannot be paid until the necessary sum has again been voted by the Assembly.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND: INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.

Article 31.—(1) The Working Capital Fund is a fund established for the purposes mentioned in Article 33 below, and constituted by monies voted by the Assembly and payable by the Members of the League, in addition to the sum voted for the expenses of the year.

(2) The sums paid by Members of the League since 10th January 1920 for the purpose of constituting or augmenting the Working Capital Fund shall be carried to the credit of the Members which have paid such sums.

(3) The Assembly may liberate all or part of the sums constituting the Working Capital Fund, and the sums so liberated shall be returned to the Members which have contributed to the Fund in proportion to their respective contributions.

(4) Subject to a decision of the Assembly, the States which for any reason cease to be Members of the League shall be entitled to the reimbursement of the total amount of their contributions to the Working Capital Fund.

(5) Members joining the League after 15th November 1920 are entitled to increase their contributions to the Working Capital Fund or to contribute thereto in the proportion of payments made by other Members, even if the Working Capital Fund reaches the maximum limit fixed for it. This provision shall be communicated by the Secretary-General to all the Members which entered the League after 15th November 1920.

Article 32.—(1) The Working Capital Fund shall be administered as a separate account. As soon as a Member pays its contribution, the Working Capital Fund Account shall be immediately credited with a portion of the contribution corresponding to the ratio between the amount voted in respect of the Working Capital Fund for the year and the total amount voted for the year.

(2) The account shall be debited with the amounts withdrawn in accordance with these Regulations.

Article 33.—(1) In accordance with Article 26, para. (2), the Working Capital Fund is primarily applicable to meet temporarily normal requirements of regular organisations of the League which cannot be paid out of income at the time when they are due to be met. Such organisations shall have the first claim to assistance from the fund. The assistance shall be given in the form of advances from the fund to the competent officials of the organisations, and such advances shall be repaid to the fund as soon as the necessary income is available.

(2) Recoverable advances required for work undertaken by the League may be made from the Working Capital Fund if the money is not required for the regular organisations. Such advances must be authorised by a special resolution of the Council, which shall keep the Members of the League fully informed with regard to all such resolutions and advances.

(3) Repayments of recoverable advances shall be paid into the fund from which the advances were drawn pending a decision by the Assembly as to their final disposal.

(4) Sums drawn from the Working Capital Fund by way of recoverable advances under the terms of para. (2) above, but which the Council subsequently decides cannot, in fact, be recovered, shall be repaid to the Fund, either by means of a transfer approved by the Council from some other part of the Budget for the current year or by means of a specific vote for the purpose in the Budget for the year following that in which they were declared by the Council to be irrecoverable.

Article 34.—The Secretary-General may place the Working Capital Fund, and any other funds not immediately required for use, on deposit at interest with the bankers of the League, or in other banks of internationally recognised standing, for such periods as he may consider desirable. The interest received shall be dealt with in accordance with Article 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ACCOUNTS.

Article 35.—The annual accounts shall consist of two parts:—

(1) A budget account showing for each item: (a) the original vote, (b) the vote as modified by any transfers which may have been approved by the competent authority, (c) the actual expenditure incurred.

(2) A statement of assets and liabilities as at the 31st December.

Article 36.—(1) A statement showing the position of the Working Capital Fund, based on the account mentioned in Article 31, shall be attached to the accounts as an annex.

(2) A statement showing for the past financial year (a) any recoverable advances made from the Working Capital Fund, and (b) any expenses borne on a vote for unforeseen expenses incurable only by special resolution of a competent authority, shall be annexed to the accounts.

(3) There shall be attached to the accounts as annexes: a memorandum showing for the past financial year the resolutions of the Council with reference to: (a) any recoverable advances made from the Working Capital Fund; (b) any advances originally thought to be recoverable and ultimately considered by the Council to be irrecoverable; and of the competent authority with reference to: (c) any expenses borne on a vote for unforeseen expenses incurable only by special resolution of a competent authority; (d) any transfers made in the Budget.

Article 37.—(1) The procedure prescribed in Chapter IV, with regard to the Budget shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply also to the accounts.

(2) The Secretary-General shall see that the accounts and the annexes for each year reach the Commission before the 1st April of the following year.

(3) The provisions of Chapter IV, concerning the representation of the various organisations at meetings of the Commission and the Assembly or its Finance Committee, shall also apply to the submission and discussion of the accounts.

Article 38.—(1) The Assembly shall finally pass the expenditure and income accounts and shall disallow any item which it may consider improper and may direct the corresponding amendments to the accounts. The accounts, with the modifications (if any) made by the Assembly, shall be adopted by the Assembly.

(2) If the Assembly disallows any item in the accounts, it shall, at the same time, decide what means shall be taken to deal with the matter.

Article 38A.—The difference between the actual receipts and the expenditure for each completed financial year shall be entered in the Budget of the second year following. If the difference constitutes a credit balance, it shall be used to effect a corresponding reduction of the sum to be collected from the Members of the League by way of contribution for the year in the Budget of which it is entered; if the difference represents a deficit, the sum to be contributed by Members of the League for such year shall be increased by the amount of the deficit.

CHAPTER IX INTERNAL CONTROL.

Article 39. The competent officials shall designate the officials who may incur liabilities and make payments on behalf of, or out of the funds of, the respective organisations. They shall make rules to secure: (a) that no liabilities are incurred or payments made except by such officials, (b) that no liabilities are incurred which are not provided for in the Budget, (c) that no payment is made for which the liability has ceased, and (d) generally to establish strict control enforcing observance of the rules of this Article.

Article 40.—(1) The competent officials shall make rules to ensure the exercise of the greatest economy in incurring liabilities.

(2) In all cases in which it seems to be desirable, and in any event in the case of any single purchase of supplies likely to exceed 10,000 Swiss francs in cost, tenders shall be invited by advertisement in at least two leading newspapers belonging to different countries, and in the *Monthly Summary* of the League or an official publication of any autonomous organisation concerned.

(3) The competent officials shall determine who may open and accept tenders, and make rules for guidance in accepting tenders.

Article 41.—In order to ensure economy, the competent officials shall cause an accurate record to be kept of all capital acquisitions, and of all supplies purchased and used during each year, and shall submit to the auditor, with their accounts, a statement showing the stores in hand at the 31st December, distinguishing stores purchased from capital and stores purchased from revenue.

Article 42.—(1) The competent officials shall make rules prohibiting the use of the property or the services of the League for private purposes, except with due authorisation given in the interests of the League and subject to specific regulations.

(2) Such regulations shall provide for payment, unless there is a reason to forego payment in the interest of the League, and shall contain the necessary provisions to ensure that all payments due are regularly collected.

CHAPTER X. EXTERNAL SUPERVISION.

Article 43.—(1) The provisions of the following Articles are without prejudice to the provisions of other Chapters defining the supervision exercisable by the Commission.

(2) The following Articles are without prejudice to the power of the Commission under other Chapters, where no special mention is made of the *rapporteur* or the auditor, to delegate to them powers and duties by the regulations which the Commission makes for the conduct of its business.

Article 44.—(1) The accounts of the League shall be audited by the auditor after the closing of the accounts for each year, and, in addition, three times during the course of each year.

(2) The three audits which are to be performed during the year shall be at such time as the Commission may determine, but reasonable notice shall be given in advance to the competent officials of the organisations concerned.

(3) The auditor shall report to the Commission upon each audit. The audit of the closed accounts of each year shall be completed and be submitted, with the auditor's report thereon, to the Commission not later than the 15th April in the year following.

Article 45.—The auditor shall be entitled to see, on demand, any document which is relevant to his examination of the accounts or other duties. Not later than the 10th of each month, a statement of receipts and expenditure for the preceding month shall be forwarded to him, together with the report of the Internal Control Officer.

Article 46.—For the purpose of each of the audits, the competent officials shall furnish to the auditor, at the seat of the organisation concerned, budget accounts, with vouchers, showing all receipts and payments for every completed month since the last audit down to the close of the preceding month.

Article 47.—(1) The auditor shall verify whether the receipts and payments are in accordance with the Budget and with the regulations.

(2) With respect to the payments, he shall in particular ascertain whether any sums have been paid, which were not due, and whether any double or over-payments have been made.

(3) Any question which the auditor may raise with regard to any receipt or payment, and upon which he is not satisfied by such verbal explanation as he may receive from the competent official, shall be put to such official and be answered by him in writing, and the question shall, if the reply is not satisfactory to the auditor, be placed before the Commission.

Article 48.—(1) The auditor shall include in his report upon the closed accounts for each year a statement dealing with:—

- (a) The receipts of the League during the year.
- (b) The amounts receivable at the 31st December.
- (c) The amounts recoverable at the 31st December.
- (d) The stores in hand at the 31st December.
- (e) The liabilities at the 31st December.
- (f) Any other items which the Commission may deem it necessary to add hereto.

(2) In addition to the reports referred to in Article 44, the auditor may, if he thinks fit, report to the Commission from time to time, and shall so report if the Commission so determines.

Article 49.—(1) After considering the reports submitted by the auditor, the *rapporteur* shall draft a general report on the accounts of each year for the consideration of the Commission. This report shall deal in detail with all matters likely to be of interest concerning the financial administration of the League during the year in question.

(2) The *rapporteur* shall at once send to the competent officials copies of the parts of his draft report relating to their organisations.

FINAL PROVISIONS.

Article 50.—(1) Rules made by the competent officials, in order to carry out the provisions of these Regulations, shall be communicated to the Commission in due time before the next session of the Commission.

(2) The rules of internal financial administration hitherto in force in the various organisations shall be brought into conformity with these Regulations.

Article 51.—These Regulations shall not be amended except by the Assembly acting upon the advice of its Finance Committee: but, where it is proved to the Commission that some alteration or addition is urgently required, the Commission is authorised to approve and put into temporary operation such alteration or addition, but shall report thereon to the Council and the Assembly as soon as possible for final decision by the latter.

Article 52.—The present Regulations shall come into force on the 1st January 1923.

ANNEX III. :—*Communication from the Council to the Assembly on 28th September regarding certain questions of interpretation of the Covenant, &c.*

Viscount Ishii (Japan), President of the Council, made the following statement:—

"I am charged by my colleagues to inform the Assembly that the Council passed the following resolution at its meeting this afternoon:—

"At its meeting of 22nd September 1923 the Council asked a Committee of Jurists to formulate questions with regard to certain points concerning the interpretation of the Covenant and other matters of international law which the Council had had under consideration.

"The Committee submitted to the Council on 26th September the following questions:—

"*Question 1.*—Is the Council, when seized at the instance of a Member of the League of Nations of a dispute submitted, in accordance with the terms of Article 15 of the Covenant, by such a Member as 'likely to lead to a rupture' bound either at the request of the other party or on its own authority, and before enquiring into any point, to decide whether in fact such description is well-founded?

"*Question 2.*—Is the Council, when seized of a dispute in accordance with Article 15, para. 1, of the Covenant at the instance of a Member of the League of Nations bound, either at the request of a party or on its own authority, to suspend its enquiry into the dispute, when, with the consent of the parties, the settlement of the dispute is being sought through some other channel?

"*Question 3.*—Is an objection founded on Article 15, para. 8, of the Covenant the only objection based on the merits of the dispute on which the competence of the Council to make an enquiry can be challenged?

"*Question 4.*—Are measures of coercion which are not meant to constitute acts of war consistent with the terms of Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant when they are taken by one Member of the League of Nations against another Member of the League without prior recourse to the procedure laid down in those articles?

"*Question 5.*—In what circumstances and to what extent is the responsibility of a State involved by the commission of a political crime in its territory?

"The Members of the Council being in agreement that any dispute between Members of the League likely to lead to a rupture is within the sphere of action of the League, and that if such dispute cannot be settled by diplomacy, arbitration or judicial settlement, it is the duty of the Council to deal with it in accordance with the terms of Article 15 of the Covenant, the Council

decides that these questions shall be referred to a Special Commission of Jurists for an opinion as to the answers to be given.

"The Council resolves that the Report of the Special Commission of Jurists shall be submitted to it in time for consideration at its meeting in December. Each Member of the Council may nominate within a period of 15 days a jurist to be a member of the Commission. The members thus nominated, together with the Director of the Legal Section of the Secretariat, will constitute the Special Commission of Jurists."

ANNEX IV.—*Resolutions of the Advisory Committee on Opium, at its May-June session, 1923.*

RESOLUTIONS.

I.—(1) The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium accepts and recommends to the League of Nations the proposals of the United States representatives as embodying the general principles by which the Governments should be guided in dealing with the question of the abuse of dangerous drugs and on which, in fact, the International Convention of 1912 is based, subject to the fact that the following reservation has been made by the representatives of the Governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam:

"The use of prepared opium and the production, export and import of raw opium for that purpose are legitimate so long as that use is subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II. of the Convention."

(II) The Advisory Committee, appreciating the great value of the co-operation of the Government of the United States of America in the efforts which the League has for the past two years been making to deal with the question of the abuse of dangerous drugs, expresses the belief that all the Governments concerned will be desirous of co-operating with that Government in giving the fullest possible effect to the Convention.

(III) In bringing the American proposals to the notice of the Council and the Assembly, the Advisory Committee would recall that, during the two years that have elapsed since the Convention came into operation, it has worked towards the same ends by: (1) taking all possible steps to secure the adhesion of all countries to the Convention; (2) investigating the question of the world's needs of the manufactured drugs for medicinal and scientific uses with a view to the eventual limitation of the production of these drugs; (3) recommending the system of import certificates, arranging the exchange between States of information in regard to the illicit traffic in the drugs, and proposing other measures for securing international co-operation in suppressing that traffic; (4) inviting the Powers with territories in the Far East to review their requirements of opium, and submitting proposals for an investigation by the Chinese Government of the conditions in China with a view to the more effective application of Chapter II. of the Convention and the solution of the problem of the use of prepared opium in the Far East; (5) collecting and publishing information as to the measures taken to give effect to the Convention and the position generally in all countries in regard to the traffic, with a view to securing the enforcement of the Convention.

(IV) As a means of giving effect to the principles submitted by the representatives of the United States and the policy which the League, on the recommendation of the Committee, has adopted, and having regard to the information now available, the Advisory Committee recommends to the Council the advisability of inviting:

- (a) The Governments of the States in which morphine, heroin, or cocaine and their respective salts are manufactured and the Governments of the States in which raw opium or the coca leaf are produced for export for the purpose of such manufacture;
- (b) The Governments having territories in which the use of prepared opium is temporarily continued under the provisions of Chapter II. of the Convention and the Government of the Republic of China,

to enter into immediate negotiations (by nominating representatives to form a committee or committees or otherwise) to consider whether, with a view to giving the fullest possible effect to the Convention of 1912, agreements could not now be reached between them:

- (a) as to a limitation of the amounts of morphine, heroin or cocaine and their respective salts to be manufactured; as to a limitation of the amounts of raw opium and the coca leaf to be imported for that purpose and for other medicinal and scientific purposes; and as to a limitation of the production of raw opium and the coca leaf for export to the amount required for such medicinal and scientific purposes. The latter limitation is not to be deemed to apply to the production and export of raw opium for the purpose of smoking in those territories where that practice is temporarily continued under the provisions of Chapter II. of the Convention;
- (b) as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued, and as to the measures which should be taken by the Government of the Republic of China to bring about a suppression of the illegal production and use of opium in China.

Reservation by the Representative of the Government of India.

The representative of the Government of India associates himself with the foregoing resolution, subject to the following reservation regarding para. I:

"The use of raw opium, according to the established practice in India, and its production for such use are not illegitimate under the Convention."

2. The Advisory Committee, having regard to the large amount of detailed information now available, recommends the Council to invite the Powers with Far Eastern territories where the use of opium for smoking is temporarily continued in pursuance of Chapter II. of the Opium Convention, to enter into immediate negotiations, by means of calling a special conference of representatives of these Governments, or otherwise, to consider what measures could be taken to give a more effective application to Chapter II. of the Convention and to bring about a reduction of the amount of opium used, and whether, on the lines

of the suggestions set out below or on other lines, an agreement or understanding could not now be reached for the adoption of a uniform policy on the matter:—

- (i) That the farm system, where it is still in operation, should be abolished, and that the opium business should be made a Government monopoly and kept entirely in the hands of the Government.
- (ii) As a corollary of para. (i), that the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops, and that all private shops should be abolished. Persons in charge of Government shops should be paid a fixed salary without any commission on the amount of business done, and therefore would have no temptation to push the sales.
- (iii) That a uniform maximum limit should be fixed for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption, calculated according to the number of the adult Chinese male population, e.g., 5 taels per 10,000 adult Chinese males in the territory, and that the annual imports of raw opium should be limited to the amount required for that rate of consumption.
- (iv) That the possibilities of the system of registration and licensing, which has already been introduced in some of the Far Eastern territories, should be thoroughly explored.
- (v) That the possibility should be considered of making uniform, so far as circumstances permit—
 - (a) the price at which prepared opium is retailed in the different territories, and
 - (b) the penalties for infraction of the law in regard to the import, export, sale and use of prepared opium.
- (vi) That the interested Powers, that is, the Powers having territories in the Far East where the consumption of prepared opium is still permitted, should conclude an agreement among themselves to apply the foregoing measures for the purpose of carrying out Chapter II. of the Convention.
- (vii) That the position should be generally reviewed periodically by the Powers interested and the question of further reducing the maximum limit fixed in the agreement should be considered.

3. The Advisory Committee asks the Council to request the Governments to communicate their views as to the possibility of a total suppression of the manufacture of heroin or of its limitation to the minimum amount required.

4. The Advisory Committee, being convinced of the great value of the information contained in the annual reports which each Government has been requested to transmit to the Secretariat, once more recommends the Council to urge on the Governments the importance of sending regularly to the Secretariat such reports, which should contain the fullest possible information, both with regard to the production of and the traffic in opium and other narcotics.

5. The Advisory Committee recommends the Council to draw the attention of the Governments to the extreme desirability not only of direct communication to other immediately interested Governments of the details of any seizures made, but also of a general communication to the Secretariat of the League of Nations of all important seizures in order that the fullest international publicity may be secured by the transmission, with the consent of the Governments concerned, of this information by the Secretariat both to other Governments not immediately concerned in the specific case and to the Press.

6. The Advisory Committee recommends that the statement prepared by the Secretariat for the Sub-Committee on Customs Statistics, together with the memorandum prepared by Sir Malcolm Delevingne on the position of bonded warehouses in regard to the traffic in narcotics, should be communicated to the Governments with a request for their observations.

7. The Advisory Committee, considering that the infliction of severe penalties on persons engaged in the illicit traffic in narcotics is one of the best means of preventing the spread of that traffic, recommends the increase of penalties in certain countries, the adoption of the penalty of imprisonment, and, if possible, of prohibition of residence (*interdiction de séjour*), a very strict application of the penalties laid down, and the introduction of clauses providing for the punishment of infractions committed in foreign countries.

ANNEX V.—*Resolutions of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. The Advisory Committee, having decided that, during the present session, only the discussion of the draft report to be presented to the Council should be taken in public, requests the Council to state whether it desires full publicity to be given in future to the meetings of the Advisory Committee, subject to its discretion.

2. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Council should instruct the Secretariat to prepare a summary of the annual reports received from Governments and to distribute it to all Members of the League and of the Advisory Committee.

3. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Council should invite each Government which has not already furnished a full statement of the laws and regulations in force in its country relative to the traffic in women and children to do so; that the Secretariat should cause a digest of these laws and regulations to be prepared and distributed to the Members of the League and of the Advisory Committee, and that information regarding new laws and regulations should be distributed annually.

4. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Council should again draw the attention of all Governments to the desirability of adhering to or ratifying the Convention of 1921 without delay.

5. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Council should be asked to obtain, with the collaboration of the International Labour Office, information on the following matters relating to the emigration of women and children in so far as they are connected with the traffic:—

- (a) Arrangements for the protection of emigrants and transmigrants before departure.
- (b) Regulations providing for their protection during the voyage.
- (c) Measures taken to accommodate and to find employment for them on arrival.
- (d) Treatment of undesirables.

proved difficult to reconcile divergent economic interests, fiscal interests and legal systems. The delegates of the seven Governments have not yet, however, concluded their work. They have produced a preliminary report, dealing exhaustively with the question of scheduled and actual taxation, and laying down the principle that the assessed income should be divided up in proportion to the amount of business done by the taxpayer in each country. They have also begun an investigation into general income tax and death duties, and this work will be continued in October.

Acting upon the principle of widespread appeal to all competent authorities, the Finance Committee has, in the matter of double taxation as in other matters, kept in close touch with the International Chamber of Commerce, which is also investigating this question. Any judgment on the ultimate result of the work of these various Committees and experts would be premature.

Next year it will be the duty of the Finance Committee, which will be in possession of all the necessary documentation by May, to recommend how the suggestions made by the experts should be put into practice—whether by proclamation of general principles sanctioned by the Fifth Assembly, recommendations to be made to the States, conventions concluded between certain groups of States, international conference on double taxation, or international agreements in the form of protocols open to signature.

Your *rapporteur* considers it only fair to state that certain countries have already understood the necessity for remedying taxation abuses where international relations are concerned. For instance, Spain, in a quite recent law, has granted fiscal exemption on condition of reciprocity for profits obtained abroad to branches or representatives of Spanish enterprises. The Netherlands also has expressly provided for the conclusion of treaties on double taxation. Various countries in Central Europe have concluded international conventions which are at present in force. Finally, the importance of the Convention signed at Rome by the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been recognised by the Genoa Conference and the League of Nations.

With regard to fiscal evasion, the Finance Committee has appealed to the same Government experts who have been dealing with double taxation to find remedies for this evil, from which the budgets of all countries are suffering. The Committee has found itself in agreement with the Genoa Conference in thinking that it would be of advantage to combine these two problems, which are so closely connected. At their next meeting the Government experts will devote special attention to it and will consider the possibilities of drawing up an international agreement in this matter.

Besides these general questions, the Finance Committee, as in preceding years, has been instructed by the Council to investigate a certain number of special problems concerning particular countries.

At the end of the year 1922, Greece was confronted with the formidable problem raised by the arrival in her territory of about one million refugees from Asia Minor. The situation presented great financial difficulties. As the Greek Government had not the necessary resources to provide for the establishment of these refugees, and as the relief organisations could not continue to meet very heavy expenses for an indefinite period, an appeal was addressed to the League of Nations suggesting that this distressing financial problem should be solved by international co-operation. From the very beginning of the investigation of this problem, the Committee had been anxious for its solution by an international organisation which should aim, not at collecting large sums as temporary relief for the refugees—as, in all probability, these sums would exceed any loan obtainable on the international markets for an exclusively humanitarian purpose—but should attempt to encourage the refugees to settle permanently in the country: in other words, the Committee sought to promote a genuinely constructive scheme which, amongst other advantages, might result in attracting or retaining the valuable help of the American organisations.

With this in view, a scheme for the establishment of refugees to which the Council had already devoted its attention was considered, and the Committee endeavoured, from a purely financial point of view, to give this scheme the best possible practical shape by co-operating in the drafting of the statutes of an International Settlement Commission. You are aware that the Bank of England has already offered one million pounds sterling to the National Bank of Greece on condition that these funds be paid over to the Commission.

The Finance Committee has again given attention to the *Albanian question*. Last year, that State claimed the benefit of the application of a general Resolution of the Assembly concerning technical advisers, by requesting that a financial adviser be appointed, to be entrusted with the task of giving his opinion upon general questions of an economic and financial nature. The Finance Committee was instructed to seek a man capable of carrying out this delicate task. It submitted the name of M. J. D. Hunger, a Dutchman, to the Council, and this proposal was accepted. The Committee also drafted the clauses of a contract between the financial expert and the Albanian Government. M. Hunger took office in the month of June and, at the last meeting of the Finance Committee in September, he stated his views as to the future development of Albania, advocating, in agreement with the Albanian Government, the constitution of a Bank of Issue. The Finance Committee approved this step, and, at the request of M. Hunger, prepared, in co-operation with him, an organic draft law intended to serve as a basis for the statutes of the future bank.

That is a most interesting enterprise. A young country, having no note issue, is to have its first bank constituted and to see credit, until then practically unknown within its borders, established in the form which is usual in Western Europe.

The problems raised by the financial situation of the *Free City of Danzig* are of quite a different nature. In this case, it is not a question of a newly-formed State; Danzig, on the contrary, has reached a very advanced stage of economic, industrial and commercial development. For two reasons, however, its financial situation is difficult, the first being the heavy charges imposed on it by the Treaty of Versailles; the second, and the more important, perhaps, is the collapse of the German mark, the only legal currency at present in circulation in the territory of the Free City.

In the first place, the Danzig Senate asked the Finance Committee to assist it in issuing a loan of 500,000 gold marks, to be used by it as working capital, for the Treasury was continually in difficulties owing to the depreciation of the mark. The Finance Committee asked the Council to approach the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission with a view to persuading these bodies—which were creditors of Danzig—not to oppose the issue of the loan. As a result of the steps taken by the Council, the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission both made statements which met the desires of the Finance Committee. In addition, the Free City of Danzig was granted a moratorium for one year.

APPENDIX III.

Reports of the Committees of the Assembly.*ANNEX I.—Report by the General Committee on Procedure of Adoption of the Budget at Plenary Meetings of the Assembly.*

At the third session of the Assembly, a question arose as to whether the budget of the League could be voted by a majority or only by unanimity, and it was decided that the Council should be asked to consider the question.

The Council considered the subject thus referred to it on 29th January 1923.

On the legal question as to what constitutes a valid adoption of a budgetary resolution by the Assembly, the Council agreed with the opinion expressed by its *Rapporteur*, M. Tang Tsai-Fou, which has been communicated to the Assembly in Document A. 3. 1923. V.

The question as to what would be the most desirable method of procedure for the Assembly to adopt in the preliminary stages before the final voting of the budget was referred by the Assembly to the General Committee on 10th September last. The General Committee has now the honour to place the following recommendations as to procedure before the Assembly :—

- (1) The opinion expressed by the Council to the effect that the adoption of budgetary proposals by the Assembly requires a unanimous vote should be concurred in by the Assembly.
- (2) The Rules of Procedure of the Assembly (Rule 18, paras. 2, 5, 6 and 7) establish the procedure to be followed in dealing with amendments to the budget proposed at the plenary meetings.

It would be convenient that the Rules should be applied in the following manner :—

- (a) The budget as presented by the Finance Committee will be regarded as a single proposal which, if no amendments are moved, will be submitted for adoption, as a whole, by a single vote of the Assembly.
- (b) If amendments are moved to the budget as presented by the Finance Committee, the President of the Assembly, after ascertaining all the credits on which the various Delegations desire to propose amendments, will divide the budget and put to the vote, as a whole, all those credits on which no question of amendment arises.
- (c) The President will then successively submit for discussion the various credits which Delegations desire to alter.

If amendments proposed to particular credits are not opposed, the credits as amended will be put to the vote.

If, on the other hand, amendments proposed to particular credits do not secure unanimous agreement, those credits will, if possible, be referred back to the Finance Committee, in order that they may be discussed there and new proposals be presented to the Assembly. If time does not permit of referring to the Finance Committee credits in regard to which unanimous agreement cannot for the moment be secured in the Assembly, the President will ask the Assembly to adjourn its definitive decision on such credits for a sufficient time to permit of discussion of conflicting views between the various Delegations and of an attempt to find a solution by agreement.

ANNEX II.—Report of the First Committee on the proposals of the British Government for the amendment of Article 16 of the Covenant (Rapporteur: Dr. Limbury).

The First Committee, having examined the amendments to Article 16, para. 1, of the Covenant proposed by the British Government on 30th July 1923, has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following Resolution :—

“The Assembly decides to defer discussion of the British Government's amendments to Article 16 of the Covenant until the Fifth Assembly (1924).”

The Second Assembly adopted, among others, an amendment to the text of para. 1 of Article 16, which the new British amendment proposes to modify still further. The second sentence of para. 1, as amended by the Second Assembly, is worded as follows :—

“Which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse *between persons residing in their territory and persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State* and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse *between persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State and persons residing in the territory of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.*”

The British amendment would modify this phrase as follows :—

“Which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, and to prohibit all intercourse *even if not between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, at least between persons resident within their territories and the persons resident within the territory of the covenant-breaking State,* and to prevent all financial, commercial or personal intercourse, *even if not between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not, at least between persons resident in the territory of that State and those residing in the territory of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.*”

The reasons which have led the Committee to formulate the above-mentioned proposal are the following:—

- (1) The number of States which have ratified the amendments to Article 16 which were adopted by the Second Assembly is not yet sufficient to allow these amendments to come into force. It would not, therefore, be opportune to adopt new amendments on the same subject as amendments already adopted but not yet completely ratified: such action might even cause a certain amount of difficulty—as regards their constitutional law—to certain States Members of the League.
- (2) It would not be opportune to recommence in the present Assembly a discussion on the blockade as provided for in Article 16.
- (3) The drafting of the British amendment does not appear to be quite clear. The words “if not” (*si non*) and “at least” (*au moins*) might give rise to some ambiguities, which one should endeavour to remove by redrafting the text after examination and further discussion.

Naturally, all the members of the Committee did not attach equal importance to these three reasons: some considered one reason more important and some another.

The second British amendment proposes to delete the words “in such case,” at the beginning of para. 2 of Article 16, on the ground that they will be superfluous as soon as the paragraph becomes para. 5 in consequence of the entry into force of the amendments adopted by the Second Assembly.

Although this amendment only constitutes an improvement of drafting, the Committee feels that, as the first amendment has been adjourned until next Assembly, it would be better to adjourn the second amendment also until that Assembly.

ANNEX III.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic and Financial Commission.*

(A.)—REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

(*Rapportem* : M. Fernandez y Medina.)

Since September 1922, the work of the Financial Committee has extended over a range of subjects a part of which is within the province of two of my colleagues on the Second Committee. M. Ador has already explained the part played in the reconstruction of Austria by the members of the Financial Committee, both in the preparation of protocols in September and October 1922, and in their capacity as the Provisional Delegation of the League of Nations, when they carried out the preliminary work at Vienna pending the Commissioner-General's arrival. M. van Eysinga, who will deal more particularly with questions affecting the Economic Committee, has detailed the results of the work undertaken by the Financial Committee on subjects which fell within the competence of both, such as our collaboration with the International Labour Office on the unemployment problem, and the issue of publications by the Economic and Financial Organisation. I need therefore deal only with the other branches of the Financial Committee's work.

As you are well aware, all this work is based on the general ideas put forward by the International Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920.

The duty of the Financial Committee—which, as you will find, it performs most admirably—is, as far as possible, to give practical effect to those ideas which are known throughout the world as the “Brussels Resolutions.”

The publications of the Economic and Financial Section, to which M. van Eysinga will refer, have informed the public of what has been done in this direction.

As you know, however, the Financial Committee's activities are not confined to the compilation of statistical reports, however perfect. The memorandum on Public Finance, the memorandum on Currency, the memorandum on Central Banks of Issue, and the report on the principles laid down at Brussels undoubtedly constitute valuable material for investigation, but the Committee's chief ambition is to further the practical application of the principles of sound finance.

The work of which I have to speak to you as regards the year 1922-23 falls under two heads, general and special. Among the questions of general interest which came before its notice, the Committee, during the past year, without neglecting its enquiry into currency and exchange problems, which are of primary importance to it, has attempted to further a solution of the serious problem of double taxation.

For some years, the public has been feeling the evils of double taxation. From the point of view of equity, the taxpayers' interests suffer serious damage from the fantastic proportions of the rates of taxation applied to the same sources of income in two different countries, while, from the general economic point of view, there can be no doubt that the free circulation of capital is hampered by the absence of any international boundary line for the operation of fiscal tariffs.

The Financial Committee of the League of Nations organised an investigation into the problem of double taxation, and asked two separate groups of experts to consider it.

The first group consisted of four eminent economists—M. Bruins, M. Einaudi, M. Seligman and Sir Josiah Stamp—who discussed the matter during the year 1922 and drew up a valuable report at a meeting held at Geneva in March 1923. This report was communicated to all the States Members of the League. It opens with a survey of the economic consequences of double taxation, which is followed by an examination of the general principles upon which every State bases its right to levy taxes. Emphasis is laid on the necessity of giving careful consideration, in any solution, to the varying economic conditions in different countries. Some countries are creditors, and others debtors, owing to the varying stages of their economic development.

The second group of experts consisted of the heads of the Revenue Department in seven European countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Switzerland), for a practical solution requires an examination of the problem from the point of view both of the administration and the Government. These senior officials held their first meeting at Geneva in June 1922. They considered the report of the four economists; they explained the peculiarities and traditions of their own fiscal systems, and discussed, from a practical and administrative point of view, the possibility of agreeing upon principles which would be acceptable to a large number of countries. It

proved difficult to reconcile divergent economic interests, fiscal interests and legal systems. The delegates of the seven Governments have not yet, however, concluded their work. They have produced a preliminary report, dealing exhaustively with the question of scheduled and actual taxation, and laying down the principle that the assessed income should be divided up in proportion to the amount of business done by the taxpayer in each country. They have also begun an investigation into general income tax and death duties, and this work will be continued in October.

Acting upon the principle of widespread appeal to all competent authorities, the Finance Committee has, in the matter of double taxation as in other matters, kept in close touch with the International Chamber of Commerce, which is also investigating this question. Any judgment on the ultimate result of the work of these various Committees and experts would be premature.

Next year it will be the duty of the Finance Committee, which will be in possession of all the necessary documentation by May, to recommend how the suggestions made by the experts should be put into practice—whether by proclamation of general principles sanctioned by the Fifth Assembly, recommendations to be made to the States, conventions concluded between certain groups of States, international conference on double taxation, or international agreements in the form of protocols open to signature.

Your rapporteur considers it only fair to state that certain countries have already understood the necessity for remedying taxation abuses where international relations are concerned. For instance, Spain, in a quite recent law, has granted fiscal exemption on condition of reciprocity for profits obtained abroad to branches or representatives of Spanish enterprises. The Netherlands also has expressly provided for the conclusion of treaties on double taxation. Various countries in Central Europe have concluded international conventions which are at present in force. Finally, the importance of the Convention signed at Rome by the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been recognised by the Genoa Conference and the League of Nations.

With regard to fiscal evasion, the Finance Committee has appealed to the same Government experts who have been dealing with double taxation to find remedies for this evil, from which the budgets of all countries are suffering. The Committee has found itself in agreement with the Genoa Conference in thinking that it would be of advantage to combine these two problems, which are so closely connected. At their next meeting the Government experts will devote special attention to it and will consider the possibilities of drawing up an international agreement in this matter.

Besides these general questions, the Finance Committee, as in preceding years, has been instructed by the Council to investigate a certain number of special problems concerning particular countries.

At the end of the year 1922, Greece was confronted with the formidable problem raised by the arrival in her territory of about one million refugees from Asia Minor. The situation presented great financial difficulties. As the Greek Government had not the necessary resources to provide for the establishment of these refugees, and as the relief organisations could not continue to meet very heavy expenses for an indefinite period, an appeal was addressed to the League of Nations suggesting that this distressing financial problem should be solved by international co-operation. From the very beginning of the investigation of this problem, the Committee had been anxious for its solution by an international organisation which should aim, not at collecting large sums as temporary relief for the refugees—as, in all probability, these sums would exceed any loan obtainable on the international markets for an exclusively humanitarian purpose—but should attempt to encourage the refugees to settle permanently in the country; in other words, the Committee sought to promote a genuinely constructive scheme which, amongst other advantages, might result in attracting or retaining the valuable help of the American organisations.

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The Finance Committee has again given attention to the *Albanian question*. Last year, that State claimed the benefit of the application of a general Resolution of the Assembly concerning technical advisers, by requesting that a financial adviser be appointed, to be entrusted with the task of giving his opinion upon general questions of an economic and financial nature. The Finance Committee was instructed to seek a man capable of carrying out this delicate task. It submitted the name of M. J. D. Hunger, a Dutchman, to the Council, and this proposal was accepted. The Committee also drafted the clauses of a contract between the financial expert and the Albanian Government. M. Hunger took office in the month of June and, at the last meeting of the Finance Committee in September, he stated his views as to the future development of Albania, advocating, in agreement with the Albanian Government, the constitution of a Bank of Issue. The Finance Committee approved this step, and, at the request of M. Hunger, prepared, in co-operation with him, an organic draft law intended to serve as a basis for the statutes of the future bank.

That is a most interesting enterprise. A young country, having no note issue, is to have its first bank constituted and to see credit, until then practically unknown within its borders, established in the form which is usual in Western Europe.

The problems raised by the financial situation of the *Free City of Danzig* are of quite a different nature. In this case, it is not a question of a newly-formed State; Danzig, on the contrary, has reached a very advanced stage of economic, industrial and commercial development. For two reasons, however, its financial situation is difficult, the first being the heavy charges imposed on it by the Treaty of Versailles; the second, and the more important, perhaps, is the collapse of the German mark, the only legal currency at present in circulation in the territory of the Free City.

In the first place, the Danzig Senate asked the Finance Committee to assist it in issuing a loan of 500,000 gold marks, to be used by it as working capital, for the Treasury was continually in difficulties owing to the depreciation of the mark. The Finance Committee asked the Council to approach the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission, with a view to persuading these bodies—which were creditors of Danzig—not to oppose the issue of the loan. As a result of the steps taken by the Council, the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission both made statements which met the desires of the Finance Committee. In addition, the Free City of Danzig was granted a moratorium for one year.

But the monetary situation of Danzig has been growing more and more critical with the collapse of the German mark. In 1922, the Committee had already recommended the Senate to adopt some monetary unit other than the German mark. In July 1923, the Senate at last recognised the wisdom of this advice, and submitted for consideration of the Finance Committee a plan of reform based on the adoption of a new currency, which should have a definite relation to the pound sterling. The Committee discussed the question at length. It did not lose sight of the close legal and business relations existing between the Free City of Danzig and Poland. Under its auspices, negotiations of a semi-official character took place between the representatives of Danzig and of Poland. The Committee gave them its views upon the essential points of a monetary reform at the same time as it communicated them to the Council, and I am glad to inform you that these negotiations resulted in the signature of an agreement.

We sincerely hope that this agreement will lead to the establishment in the Free City of Danzig, and, later, in Poland itself, of a stable currency, one of the primary conditions for the development of a country.

The statement which I have just made, together with those of M. Ador and M. van Eysinga, will, with the help of the documents which have been distributed to you, give you a comprehensive view of the activity of the Finance Committee during last year.

The President of the Council has, however, reminded us, in opening the Fourth Assembly, that the greatest of all problems within the economic and financial sphere has been outside the competence of the League, and has remained unsolved. He added that, while this great unsettled dispute weighs upon the economic life of Europe, the work of the League in every sphere of its activity must necessarily be limited. This is a statement of which the truth is specially appreciated by the Financial Committee. The application of the principles of the Brussels Conference finds in almost every case its greatest difficulty, sometimes an insuperable one, in the continued uncertainty as to reparation payments. While this uncertainty remains, the work of the Financial Committee must necessarily be both restricted and impeded. As soon as it is removed, this work will increase in range and in the fruitfulness of its results.

Meanwhile, the work done and in progress, even under the handicap of this great obstacle, for Albania, for Greece, for Danzig, and, above all, for Austria, at least gives some indication of what may be expected when this handicap is removed.

The League of Nations has now at its disposal a body of experts composed of the most competent men in the whole world. These men have examined a wide range of problems, the study of which, added to the knowledge of financial problems that they had acquired in their own countries, has given to their experience an international character that is of great service to them in the performance of their duties. Moreover, these men of different nationalities have been working together for some years, have learnt to know each other, and have formed relations that are highly useful in the delicate negotiations with which they are sometimes entrusted.

The future has doubtless heavy tasks in store for the Committee.

The recommendation of which this Report attempts to give a brief explanation will be found in Nos. 1 and 2 of the Resolutions which are being proposed to the Assembly to-day by the Second Committee.

(B)—REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(*Rapporteur*—Jonkhoeer van Eysinga.)

Since the meeting of the Third Assembly, the Economic Committee has been engaged in investigating a certain number of practical problems which are of special interest from the point of view of economic life. In certain cases these investigations have already resulted in preparatory measures designed to lead to definite solutions, which we hope will be adopted and approved by the 1924 Assembly. As regards a matter which is closely connected with international economic life, namely, the treatment of foreign nationals and undertakings, the Council of the League of Nations approved as early as last July a recommendation which was proposed by the Economic Committee, and which has been communicated to the Members of the League.

I propose to deal in detail with each of these problems, whether they are still being investigated, whether they are approaching solution or whether a solution has already been arrived at.

But before entering upon the consideration of these matters, I should like to draw your attention to a wider investigation undertaken by the Economic Committee. You will remember that last year, His Excellency M. Loefgren, the Swedish Delegate, reminded the Second Committee of the resolution which the General Conference on Labour adopted in 1921 with regard to the national and international aspects of the great problem of unemployment. The Resolution No. VI, which the 1922 Assembly adopted in this connection resulted in an exchange of views between the Economic Committee and the International Labour Office. The conviction was felt on both sides that unemployment could only be attributed to the present economic crisis. In these circumstances the Economic Committee considered it advisable to undertake an investigation into the main causes of this crisis. I feel that we can but congratulate the Economic Committee on this decision, since it would seem to answer to a need to which the pressing anxiety engendered by the present state of the world has given rise. I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the investigation undertaken by the Economic Committee into the various aspects of the present crisis will prove fruitful, not only as regards the problem of unemployment, but also as regards international economic life in general (Draft Resolution No. 9).

Turning to the various questions which were already on the agenda last year, I notice that the problems of "bartering" and differential prices are still under consideration.

With regard to the problems connected with that important question, the equitable treatment of commerce, I would observe that an *International Conference on Customs Formalities* is to take place in a few weeks' time at Geneva. This Conference will consider the problem of the exercise of unfair discrimination against foreign goods and certain questions relating to certificates of origin, and in a general way will endeavour to simplify all regulations connected with Customs control, without touching upon problems connected with the Customs or commercial policy of the various States. In regard to this Conference, the Fifth International American Conference, at its session held last spring at Santiago, expressed the unanimous recommendation that the greatest possible number of States should send representatives, and the Second Committee has warmly concurred in this decision (Draft Resolution No. 4).

I have already observed that, as regards the *treatment of foreign nationals and undertakings*, the Council has adopted a recommendation which might perhaps eventually lead to the conventional regulation of this important question, which up to now has been dealt with mainly in commercial treaties (Draft Resolution No. 5).

With regard to the question of *unfair competition*, a meeting of experts will be held next spring, with a view to drawing up a draft convention for ensuring the suppression of certain forms of unfair competition which the provisions of the Conventions at present in force for the protection of industrial property do not make it possible to deal with. In this connection, I would like to remind you that the Venezuelan Delegate to the Third Assembly, His Excellency M. Zumeta, called the attention of members to the harm done to honest trade by the manufacturing and selling of products in a manner which, although not in contravention of the regulations governing trade marks and patents, is nevertheless in the nature of fraud and misleads persons as to the real character of the products. While recognising the importance of this form of unfair competition, both the Economic Committee and the Council were of opinion that its repression falls more within the sphere of national law. The Committee proposes Resolution No. 6 on this point.

For a long time past, commercial circles, and, in particular, the International Chamber of Commerce have been impatiently waiting for those States whose legislation or jurisprudence still opposes the recognition of *arbitration clauses inserted in commercial contracts* to adopt the measures necessary for ensuring the recognition in their countries of the validity of agreements to submit present or future differences to arbitration. The efforts of the Economic Committee in this direction were supported by the Genoa Conference in 1922 and by Resolution V. of the Third Assembly, and on 18th April last the Council decided to submit to the present Assembly a draft protocol regarding arbitration clauses, with the text of which you are acquainted. This text, prepared by the Economic Committee with the collaboration of a Committee of Jurists, has been subjected to slight changes by the Second Committee which have, however, left the form of the draft intact, such as it was submitted to us by the Council. (See Annex).

With your permission, I will make a few observations on this project. As I have already said, the important, and, indeed, the only aim of the project is to make it impossible in future for the legislation and jurisprudence of the Contracting States to stand in the way of the efficacy of arbitration agreements especially in commercial matters and between parties living in different Contracting States, even when the arbitration takes place in a country other than those to whose jurisdiction the parties to the contract are subject (Article 1). In consequence, the Contracting States must ensure the execution by their authorities and in accordance with the provisions of their national laws of arbitral awards made in their own territory (Article 3). A further consequence is that the tribunals of the Contracting States, on being seized of a dispute regarding a contract including an arbitration agreement, whether referring to present or future differences, which is valid in virtue of Article 1 and capable of being carried into effect, should refer the parties, on application of either of them, to the decisions of the arbitrators (Article 4). Para. 2 of Article 4 deals with cases in which the law of a Contracting State would permit its tribunals, after referring the difference to arbitration, to resume control of the matter, in case the agreement or the arbitration cannot proceed or become inoperative. Article 2 deals with arbitral procedure, including the constitution of the arbitral tribunal; this procedure is governed by the will of the parties and the law of the country in whose territory the arbitration takes place, it being understood that the will of the parties should not be derogatory to the imperative provisions of the law of the country. Articles 5 to 8 contain protocol conditions.

It follows from the above that all questions of private international law, including those which concern the enforcement of arbitral awards in a contracting country other than that in which the award was made, remain unaffected, and that nothing in the present state of affairs has been changed. The project is not intended to resolve these questions, which are of great interest in themselves, and which might be the subject of future agreements.

The Second Committee proposes that you should adopt Draft Resolution No. 3 on this important subject.

An investigation which was carried out by four specially well-qualified experts, M. Josephus Jitta (Netherlands), Sir Mackenzie D. Chalmers, K.C.B. (Great Britain), M. Franz Klein (Austria), and M. Lyon-Caen (France), led the Economic Committee to feel that the work undertaken at The Hague with a view to the unification of the law of *bills of exchange* and *promissory notes* should be continued as soon as conditions might make it possible, in spite of the great or small divergencies which still exist in this connection in national legal systems (Draft Resolution No. 7).

The study of the *migration of economic statistical methods* is being carried on by the provisional Committee on Statistical Methodology, which includes among its members representatives of the Economic Committee, the International Labour Office and the International Statistical Institute. The resolutions finally adopted by this provisional Committee will first be examined by the International Statistical Institute at its next session at Brussels and then referred to the Economic Committee, which, before reporting to the Council, will examine them, in consultation with the principal organisations concerned—in particular, the International Agricultural Institute at Rome, the International Chamber of Commerce and the Institut International du Commerce at Brussels (Draft Resolution No. 7).

I cannot conclude, Gentlemen, without drawing your attention to the usefulness of the documents published by the *Secretariat of the League*, in pursuance of the resolutions of the Second Assembly, for the purpose of giving information as to how far the various Governments have been able to give effect to the Resolutions of the Brussels Conference. The four volumes which have been published provide complete documentary information as to the economic situation and the economic policy of the different countries. I should like, at the same time, to refer to the various other publications of an economic character which have been prepared by the Economic and Financial Organisation; these publications are of great value and are designed to keep the public informed of the changes in the economic situation of the world (Draft Resolution No. 10).

The Japanese Delegate, His Excellency Baron Adatei, has submitted to the Committee the following remarks on a certain number of questions:—

I.—The Japanese Delegation greatly appreciates the splendid work accomplished by the Economic and Financial Commission, and has considered with much pleasure the programme drawn up by the Commission with regard to equitable treatment of foreigners and foreign undertakings in

commercial matters. It is well aware that the Commission in no way neglects the very important problem of foreign co-operation in the development of a country's natural riches. In its report to the Assembly last year, this question was not considered ripe for a decision. We are, however, confronted with a vital problem which is of great importance in the development and perfecting of international commerce. That is why we venture to suggest that the newly constituted Commission, as recently strengthened, should seriously consider this important problem, which is one of the practicable applications of the fundamental principle of equitable commercial treatment as laid down in Article 23 of the Covenant.

II.—In its recommendations, the Commission has up to the present confined itself principally to the investigation of the treatment of foreigners and of foreign undertakings, from the point of view of taxes and dues. In the opinion of the Japanese Delegation, it is likewise essential that the general commercial and industrial facilities to be granted to foreigners by the various Members of the League should be taken into consideration, and that the point as to whether foreigners should enjoy the same treatment as nationals should be discussed.

III.—In the present recommendations mention is made of "States Members of the League." This specification "States" occasionally unjustly limits the scope of stipulations which might give rise, in certain cases, to very delicate problems, hence the Japanese Delegation ventures to suggest the deletion of the word "State," leaving only the term "Member."

IV.—Following the custom now existing in certain regions, coast navigation sometimes includes navigation between a country and its distant possessions, divided by the high seas—a high road common to all humanity. This appears to the Japanese Delegation to be little in harmony with the general spirit of equitable treatment of international commerce. The Delegation expresses the hope that the Commission will continue to consider this question, by getting into touch with the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transport for the purpose, and by basing its work in this connection on the investigations which have been carried out up to the present.

V.—The Japanese Delegation would have been happy to see these questions dealt with in the report of the Second Committee of the Assembly; owing to lack of time, however, the delegation confines itself to expressing the firm hope that the Economic and Financial Commission, lately strengthened by the Council, will, when convenient, consider in due course the question cited above together with the many other questions which will claim its attention.

With regard to this interesting communication, the Second Committee proposes for your adoption Resolution No. 8.

The Second Committee unanimously congratulated the different bodies of the Economic and Financial Organisation, so ably presided over by MM. Ador, Brunet and Janssen, as well as the Secretariat of the Organisation, supervised with such great competence by Sir Arthur Salter.

Hence the Committee has noted with great satisfaction the decision of the Council to prolong until further notice the term of office of the Economic and Financial Commission.

On this subject, the Committee submits Resolution No. 11 for the approval of the Assembly.

ANNEX.

Protocol on Arbitration Clauses.

The undersigned, being duly authorised, declare that they accept, on behalf of the countries which they represent, the following provisions:—

1. Each of the Contracting States recognises the validity of an agreement whether relating to existing or future differences between parties subject respectively to the jurisdiction of different Contracting States by which the parties to a contract agree to submit to arbitration all or any differences that may arise in connection with such contract relating to commercial matters or to any other matter capable of settlement by arbitration, whether or not the arbitration is to take place in a country to whose jurisdiction none of the parties is subject.

Each Contracting State reserves the right to limit the obligation mentioned above to contracts which are considered as commercial under its national law. Any Contracting State which avails itself of this right will notify the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, in order that the other Contracting States may be so informed.

2. The arbitral procedure, including the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal, shall be governed by the will of the parties and by the law of the country in whose territory the arbitration takes place.

The Contracting States agree to facilitate all steps in the procedure which require to be taken in their own territories, in accordance with the provisions of their law governing arbitral procedure applicable to existing differences.

3. Each Contracting State undertakes to ensure the execution by its authorities and in accordance with the provisions of its national laws of arbitral awards made in its own territory under the preceding articles.

4. The Tribunals of the Contracting Parties, on being seized of a dispute regarding a contract made between persons to whom Article 1 applies and including an Arbitration Agreement whether referring to present or future differences which is valid in virtue of the said article and capable of being carried into effect, shall refer the Parties, on the application of either of them, to the decision of the Arbitrators.

Such reference shall not prejudice the competence of the judicial tribunals in case the agreement or the arbitration cannot proceed or becomes inoperative.

5. The present Protocol, which shall remain open for signature by all States, shall be ratified. The ratifications shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify such deposit to all the Signatory States.

6. The present Protocol will come into force as soon as two ratifications have been deposited. Thereafter it will take effect, in the case of each Contracting State, one month after the notification by the Secretary-General of the deposit of its ratification.

7. The present Protocol may be denounced by any Contracting State on giving one year's notice. Denunciation shall be effected by a notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the League, who will immediately transmit copies of such notification to all the other Signatory States and inform them of the date on which it was received. The denunciation shall take effect one year after the date on which it was notified to the Secretary-General, and shall operate only in respect of the notifying State.

8. The Contracting States may declare that their acceptance of the present Protocol does not include any or all of the under-mentioned territories: that is to say, their colonies, overseas possessions or territories, protectorates or the territories over which they exercise a mandate.

The said States may subsequently adhere separately on behalf of any territory thus excluded. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall be informed as soon as possible of such adhesions. He shall notify such adhesions to all Signatory States. They will take effect one month after the notification by the Secretary-General to all Signatory States.

The Contracting States may also denounce the Protocol separately on behalf of any of the territories referred to above. Article 7 applies to such denunciation.

A certified copy of the present Protocol will be transmitted by the Secretary-General to all the Contracting States.

DONE at Geneva on the _____, 1923, in a single copy, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, and which will be kept in the archives of the Secretariat of the League.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of M. Gustave Ador to the Second Committee on 7th September regarding the Financial Reconstruction of Austria.*

I thank you for the honour which you have done me as Chairman of the Economic and Financial Commission in asking me to submit to your Committee a report on the League's work in Austria, which has been executed to a large extent through the technical organisations of the League.

The President of the Council in opening the present Assembly, referred to the work of reconstruction in Austria as undoubtedly the most notable single achievement of the League during the last year. He emphasised the gravity of the situation in September of last year. "Austria," he said, "could neither feed her people with bread nor her industries with raw material without large purchases from abroad; and for these purchases she had no financial resources. She had lived for three years largely on external loans, and no further loans could be obtained; the foreign seller could no longer be expected to accept her demoralised currency in payment for his goods; a swollen budget and defective yield of taxation made any attempt at stabilisation seem hopeless. There was an apparently certain prospect of starvation, of internal trouble and disorder; and the less certain but ominous menace of foreign complications." He contrasted the present position. The Austrian crown, which had been the least stable currency outside Russia, has during the whole twelve months been one of the most stable in Europe. On this firm basis, the economic life of Austria has developed and shown a recuperative power which has exceeded the hopes of the most optimistic. He added, "The first piece of reconstructive work achieved since the war by international co-operation is indeed an important event in history. The world will not fail to note that piecemeal assistance by other countries in the three years after the war involved a public expenditure by them of over 25 millions sterling, and that, though Austria was kept alive by these means for three years, her finances were in disorder at the end of them; while the present work of reconstruction now offers a reasonable prospect of achieving, without cost to the countries which assisted her, not the temporary relief but the permanent re-establishment of the country."

While associating myself with what Viscount Esch said as to the results and success of the work, I would remind the Committee that a detailed account of the progress in every stage is given in the Commissioner-General's Monthly Reports, and is fully summarised on pages 49-59 of the Council's Report to the Assembly (Document A 10, 1923).

But there is one aspect of the work which I should like to emphasise in speaking to this Committee, which is concerned with the actual working of the technical organisations of the League. The Austrian work is the best and most complete example of the working of the whole mechanism of the League as an interdependent whole. The Assembly itself, the Council, the special sub-Committee of the Council (the Austrian Committee), the eight Governments which assisted Austria through the League, the Committee of Control appointed by these Governments, the Financial Committee, the Economic Committee, the various sections of the Secretariat, the Austrian Government, and the Loan Committee, appointed by it, and last, but not least, the Commissioner-General appointed by the League, have all had their definite rôle and all have worked together in the closest co-operation as a single great organisation.

It is necessary to recall in outline the method of work adopted and the allocation of duties among these different bodies.

It was fortunate that the time at which the question came to the League was just before the meeting of the Assembly, when the Council and the Financial and Economic Committees were also to be in session. The Assembly provided a helpful atmosphere of world interest for the negotiations to be conducted in; the Council was the appropriate body for the conduct of these negotiations and for obtaining the pledges of action required from the Governments who accepted the chief responsibility; and the Financial and Economic Committees afforded the requisite expert advice. Fortunately, too, the League had already studied the Austrian situation the previous year, before it had the authority to act, through a delegation of the Financial Committee in Vienna, and the main facts and elements of the situation were clearly known.

The problem was, as all who remember the circumstances will recognise, a complex one, political as well as financial and economic in character.

The first step was, in accordance with Article 4 of the Covenant, to invite Austria herself (represented by her Chancellor, Mgr. Seipel) and Czechoslovakia (represented by her Prime Minister, Dr. Benes) to join the Council as being countries specially interested in the question. A sub-Committee (the Austrian Committee) was then appointed, consisting of these members, with the representatives of the British Empire (Lord Balfour), France (M. Hanotaux), and Italy (the Marquis Imperiali).

The immediate effect was that the hitherto separate and independent negotiations which had been conducted by Mgr. Seipel on behalf of Austria at Prague, at Rome, and elsewhere were now transferred to a single Committee which worked continuously and included representatives of all the Powers chiefly concerned, including the Prime Ministers of two of them.

The composition of this Committee, and the subsequent organisation of the work, afford a typical example of the methods of the League. The Committee used throughout the League's technical organisation. At once determining the general outlines of the questions requiring solution, it divided them

among the various expert committees at its disposal. Within this general outline, the Financial Committee gave its advice, which included a comprehensive scheme of financial assistance and administrative reform. Working within the same general programme, the Economic Committee considered what immediate economic measures could usefully be recommended. At the same time, a legal committee, drawn partly from legal experts of the several delegations and partly from the League's permanent staff, advised on such legal questions as presented themselves in the course of the work. The Austrian Committee kept in its own hands the specifically political aspects of the problem, and maintained its control over the work of the above committees by considering interim reports as they proceeded with their studies.

In the course of about four weeks, a comprehensive scheme, dealing with both the political and financial aspects of the problem, was framed and—what was more important and difficult—the responsibility of the Governments whose action was required was definitely engaged and embodied in Protocols. The nature of this scheme will doubtless be known to most members of the Committee, but perhaps I may rapidly summarise it. Its basis is the political integrity and economic independence of Austria, assured in a declaration (Protocol I.). Aided by the confidence it was hoped this declaration would give, Austria was to commence a programme of reform (including economy in expenditure and increased revenue from taxation) which would ensure the balancing of her budget by the end of 1924. In the meantime, the excess of her expenditure over the revenue available from normal resources during the two intervening years—estimated at 650 million gold crowns—was to be met by the proceeds of the loans. These loans were to be guaranteed by external Governments, in addition to being secured on assets which, if the reforms were successful, would be sufficient without application to the guarantors. The guarantees took the form of a definite guarantee of a stated proportion of the interest and amortisation by each guaranteeing Power.

Relieved by these loans from the necessity of financing herself by the issue of paper money, which had rendered all efforts at budget equilibrium futile and destroyed any stable basis for the economic life of the country, Austria was to transfer her monopoly of note issue to an independent bank of issue, to be established under certain definite and specified conditions.

It was recognised at the same time that the successful accomplishment of the reform programme, on which both Austria's prosperity and the value of her assets depended, would be a painful and difficult task. The scheme, therefore, included the appointment of a Commissioner-General, whose duty would be to ensure, in collaboration with the Austrian Government, that the programme of reforms was carried out and to supervise its execution. He was to derive power from his control of the disposal of the loans. The Austrian Government agreed that it would not dispose of any funds derived from the loans except by the authorisation of the Commissioner-General, but the conditions which he might attach to his authorisation were to have "no other object than that of assuring the progressive realisation of the programme of reforms and of avoiding any deterioration on the assets assigned for the service of the loan." That is, the control of external countries exercised through the Commissioner-General was specifically limited to the precise purposes required by the scheme and the sovereign independence of Austria was carefully safeguarded.

In addition to the Commissioner-General, there was to be a Committee of Control of the guaranteeing Governments, to watch the specific interests of the guaranteeing Powers.

During the last year, as Viscount Ishii has reminded us, this intricate and complex task has proceeded with a success as complete as could be hoped for. This necessarily elaborate machinery has been put into operation and has worked with complete success and efficiency. As soon as the Protocols were signed at the beginning of October last, a delegation consisting of members of the Financial Committee proceeded to Vienna, and collaborated with the Austrian Government in drawing up a detailed programme of administrative reform and increased revenue. When the Commissioner-General arrived in Vienna in the middle of December, he had already the benefit of a scheme of reform firmly established in its main outline. Since that date the work has fallen into two great divisions—the detailed execution of the programme of the reform measures in Vienna and the establishment there of the Bank of Issue; and, on the other hand, the raising of external loans in 10 of the principal markets of the world. The Committee will realise the extreme complexity, as well as the great success, of the work accomplished by Mgr. Seipel and Dr. Zimmerman in Vienna. I hope that during this meeting the Committee will have the opportunity of hearing Dr. Zimmerman himself give his own account of that work. I would therefore just remind the Committee of the work that had simultaneously to be carried through outside Vienna.

The external loans were raised in two series of operations. In the first place, short-term loans, amounting in total to 3½ million pounds sterling, were raised in Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden in the early spring of this year. Later, in the summer, the main long-term loan out of which the first short-term loan was repayable, has been raised in Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland and a part in Austria. This loan was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark.

In order that the Committee may realise the complexity and magnitude of this task, I need only refer to some of its main features. It was necessary to secure guaranteeing laws from eight different countries with all their differences of constitutional, parliamentary and administrative traditions; to obtain the deposit of collateral security from these countries; to obtain the assent of all of them to all the necessarily intricate details of the loan conditions in a form satisfactory to the lenders to carry on negotiations in 10 different financial markets—London, New York, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Prague, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Vienna and in Switzerland; to arrange for the service of the loan in all these countries, and the safeguarding of the interests of the bondholders through trustees. The work has been successfully accomplished both in Vienna and outside. It is a work of such importance in itself and so fruitful in lessons as to what may be the future development of one part of the League's work, that I venture, in conclusion, to draw attention to some of what seem to me its most important features.

In the first place, I desire to emphasise the fact that, as Viscount Ishii pointed out, piecemeal assistance by different countries without collaboration and without control had involved an expenditure of 25 millions sterling and did not secure the main result of establishing Austria.

If, as there is now every prospect, Austria is permanently re-established and without cost to the countries assisting her, the difference is due to real international collaboration in a comprehensive and technically efficient scheme of reform, to the use of the League's intricate but elastic machinery, and to the establishment of real control concentrated in a single officer responsible to the League.

In the second place, I would call attention to the extreme inexpensiveness of the work so accomplished. The total cost to the League, including the long and continuous work of some of the first experts in the world, has been up to date some 7,000*l.*, even if we include an allowance for the proportionate salaries of permanent officers of the Secretariat. This result has been made possible chiefly owing to the disinterestedness of the distinguished members of the Committees of the League, who include some of the leading bankers and financial experts of the world and who were prepared to give their services voluntarily. The members of the Financial Committee, for example, either collectively or in rotation, worked continuously on the Austrian scheme in Geneva and in Vienna from 29th August to 15th December of last year, and the expense to the League consisted of nothing but travelling and subsistence allowances. It would be difficult to find an example of so great a result at so little cost.

Thirdly, one of the most remarkable results of the experiment has been to show the extraordinary recuperative effect of re-established confidence. The Austrian crown was falling precipitously in August of last year. The mere publication of the scheme arrested its fall, and although Austria secured no money from the external world till February of this year, the crown remained stable, not from February of this year, but from September last, that is to say, from the time when Austria had a scheme in which she herself believed. Not only was the crown kept stable, but the demand for it exceeded the supply. Austrians themselves who, in the earlier period, had broken every effort to stabilise by buying any foreign exchange available and hoarding it or investing it abroad, now brought their foreign exchange and asked for crowns in return.

In the fourth place, the economic life of Austria, even within her present frontiers, shows a greater recuperative power than even the most optimistic thought was possible. She has had, it is true, to go through a period of unemployment which is not yet ended, as every country in the world has done which has stabilised its currency after a period of depreciation. But it is indeed remarkable that the percentage of her unemployed was never as high at the worst as in Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, or in Switzerland, and that it apparently reached and passed its summit some months ago and has now for several months been rapidly declining.

Confining myself to these general remarks, and not wishing to take up more of your time, I now propose to open a general discussion on the work outside Vienna, and then to ask Dr. Zimmerman, whom I am very glad to see with us to-day, to give an account of the work in Vienna. Finally, I feel certain that the Committee will desire to note with satisfaction the work accomplished in the financial and economic reconstruction of Austria, to extend its warm congratulations and thanks to all those who have collaborated in it, and to express to the Secretariat of the League of Nations and to its technical organisations how deeply it appreciates their invaluable assistance.

ANNEX V.—*Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.* (Rapporteur, Hon. George P. Graham.)

The members of the Assembly will have noted the two reports submitted by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit concerning the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation since the last Assembly.

The first of these reports summarises the work accomplished up to July last; the second deals with the questions dealt with by the Committee at its last session, which ended immediately before the opening of the Assembly.

As is explained in the first report, the main task of the Communications and Transit Section during the first half of the year consisted in making arrangements for the next General Conference on Communications and Transit, which, according to the resolution adopted last year by the Assembly, was to meet in the autumn. The date of 15th November has been fixed by the Council. The programme of the Conference would appear to have been most carefully prepared by the Advisory and Technical Committee. The texts of the Convention to be considered by the Conference have been carefully examined by experts. There is every reason to hope that the Conference will thus be able, on the basis of this preliminary work, to conclude the General Convention on the International Regime of Railways and the General Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports. These Conventions are provided for in the Treaties of Peace, and the Genoa Conference at a later date made a fresh request that they be drawn up as soon as possible. There is also included in the programme of the Conference two proposals dealing with a subject which, in certain respects, breaks fresh ground and is therefore particularly interesting—international problems connected with the utilisation of electric power.

The Assembly is not required to examine these texts—that will be the duty of the Conference which is to meet; but the Assembly may forthwith express its approval of the considerable work accomplished by the members of the Advisory and Technical Committee, assisted by the highly qualified experts whom they have called in.

The drawing-up of the General Convention on the International Regime of Railways has necessitated much extremely careful consideration and revision. Under the auspices of the League of Nations, an attempt has been made to meet not merely the conditions and traditions of certain countries of one continent, but of all countries in the world. For instance, many divergencies apparently exist between the way in which railway questions are habitually regarded in Great Britain and the manner in which they are regarded in Continental Europe, and there are differences of outlook between America and Europe. It has, however, been possible to prepare a single text, which it is hoped will enable all countries to collaborate successfully.

The other proposals will also, in their own sphere of action, prove of assistance in carrying out one of the tasks of the League of Nations, namely, diminishing the causes of international disputes by laying down beforehand between the States certain fixed and just principles, the only considerations taken into account being those connected with the technical problems themselves.

Thus the object of the Draft Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports is to establish, with certain reservations, equality of treatment for vessels of all nationalities in these ports; and the proposals connected with electric power will tend to diminish as much as possible the influence of political frontiers on the solution of the problem of utilising electric power, while the sovereignty of States will be fully protected.

The success of the Barcelona Conference, which success is now an established fact, entitles us to hope that this Second General Conference of the Communications and Transit Organisation will also be a success. The ratifications of the Conventions concluded at Barcelona and adherences to these Conventions are being received rather slowly, but the progress is nevertheless continuous, especially as regards the General Convention on the Freedom of Transit, which all States represented at the Genoa Conference declared their intention to ratify.

Regarding the Barcelona Convention on the International Regime of Navigable Waterways, the negotiations referred to in the Resolution of the last Assembly are continuing, and meanwhile the Navigation Acts which are being drawn up in connection with the principal European rivers of international concern are in conformity with the Convention.

The Barcelona statute concerning ports placed under an International Regime, the scope of which was more limited, has been referred to and made use of in the last Treaty of Peace which has been concluded.

There is reason to hope that, when the next Conference meets, almost all countries of the world will be represented, and in this connection the Assembly cannot feel otherwise than satisfied that the Council should have decided to invite all recognised States which may be admitted to participate in the work of the Conference in virtue of Article 2 of the regulation adopted at Barcelona for the organisation of general conferences.

Finally, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the last Assembly, invitations and the results of the preparatory work connected with the Conference were sent to all States five months before the meeting of the Conference.

The other activities of the Committee since the last Assembly have also been clearly set forth in the reports which it has submitted.

The first application of the technical procedure of conciliation for the settlement of disputes has met with complete success, and difficulties which had existed for about two years between the German railways and the Saar railways were rapidly settled by mutual agreement. This result cannot fail to encourage the extension of the technical procedure for conciliation, which was laid down for the first time in the Resolutions of the First Assembly dealing with the carrying out of the Treaties of Peace, and later in an article of the Barcelona Conventions for the application of those Conventions, in the Navigation Acts in process of being drawn up in regard to the different rivers placed under the jurisdiction of international commissions by the Treaties of Peace, and in the recent Convention on the Hydraulic Regime of the Middle Danube. This provides a further instance of the friendly settlement of technical difficulties by direct contact between specialists before these difficulties grow into political disputes, which is the fundamental principle of the Technical Organisations of the League.

The large amount of new work undertaken by the Advisory and Technical Committee, some of which had already been foreshadowed at the time of the last Assembly, and all of which is of practical interest, gives some idea of the activities of the Organisation, which remain, however, within the strict limits of the programme assigned to it by the Covenant and by the Resolutions of the Assembly. In all branches of transport the Committee endeavours to secure improvements of a practical nature by means of agreements between the Governments concerned. The Governments have never failed to respond to its appeals, and in the case of a question which affected a problem of a wider bearing with regard to which the Committee had to deal with high religious authorities, the latter, who had hitherto never co-operated directly with the League, did not hesitate to lend their assistance.

A technical discussion of the results obtained and of the work undertaken by the Communications and Transit Organisation would, no doubt, be out of place in the Assembly; but the Assembly will perhaps desire to draw special attention to the importance of the enquiry made in regard to the application of the Resolutions of the Genoa Conference in Europe and to the conclusions, interesting not only from a technical point of view but also from the standpoint of general economics, which the Committee adopted after investigating the problem of restoring communications in Europe. The conclusions reached on this subject by the Advisory and Technical Committee are of sufficient interest for the Assembly itself to draw the special attention of the Governments to them in its own Resolutions.

In general, the Assembly cannot fail to note with satisfaction the efforts of the Organisation, the development of its work, and the procedure which it has adopted. This procedure, which has not changed since the creation of the Organisation, now appears to be definitely fixed, and it may be useful to describe it at a moment when the Advisory and Technical Committee will so shortly come before the Second General Conference of the Organisation for renewal. This procedure, which has enabled the Organisation to conduct its work in a prudent and unobtrusive manner, may be described as follows:

The Committee regularly holds two plenary sessions, one at the beginning of the spring and the other immediately before the Assembly. In the interval the work on specific problems is prepared by special sub-committees consisting of members specialising in certain classes of questions and assisted by experts appointed by the Committee. The work is therefore directly carried out by specialists, who remain in touch with the general conditions of their respective countries during the intervals between the Committees. The permanent nucleus consists of a secretariat of very limited dimensions. This method is undoubtedly the most flexible and the least bureaucratic. Lastly, when necessary, the Committee gets into touch with all other international bodies with a view to avoiding duplication, whether these bodies are other organisations of the League, such as the Health Committee and the Opium Committee, in co-operation with which the Transit Organisation has worked during the past year, or whether they are outside the League, like the River Commissions, the International Union of Railways, the International Commission for Air Navigation, &c.

Reference has been made to work carried out in conjunction with other technical organisations of the League, such as, for instance, the Health Committee. It is desirable to point out that, as the world advances, the definition of transportation must be enlarged; briefly stated, it formerly could be interpreted as the method of carrying people and products from one point to another point with fair speed and at a reasonable rate; to this should now be added the words "and in a sanitary condition."

Live stock organisations and those engaged in the trade of animals are most insistent that the vehicles of transport should be regularly disinfected and kept clean. Considerable advance has been made in the sanitation of passenger cars, but there is room yet for vast improvement. It is not a stretch of the imagination to presume that diseases are in no small degree spread by the insanitary condition which exists in portions of passenger cars. This question may properly belong to another department, but it is not out of place when dealing with transit in this Assembly to call attention to the fact that the

comfort, safety and convenience of passengers could be improved if greater care were exercised in keeping these vehicles clean and sanitary.

The organisation has not lost sight of the growing importance of transport by air. In addition to maintaining a constant liaison with the various international organisations and conferences dealing with aerial navigation, it has envisaged such questions as the unification of air law of private and commercial law relating to aerial navigation, as well as the simplification of Customs formalities for passenger traffic by air.

The next General Conference will give birth to a new Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

It is, therefore, the last time that the work of the present Committee will come before the Assembly. This Committee has had the difficult task of taking the initiative and of indicating the lines to be followed. The Assembly will, no doubt, wish to mark its appreciation of its contribution to the general work of the League.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation of the League, including the work of the Epidemic Commission.* (Rapporteur: M. Adatei.)

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following report on the work of the Health Organisation during the past year, together with the draft reorganisation proposed by the Mixed Committee of the Health Committee and the "Office international d'hygiène publique."

I.—Of the activities of the Health Organisation, the Third Assembly took particular note (para. (g), first resolution) of the steps taken by the Health Organisation with regard to an interchange of the sanitary personnel of various countries, and expressed the wish to see this system made applicable to as large a number of countries as possible.

The Second Committee does not desire to dwell on the general interest of the idea of an interchange of sanitary personnel. In the Committee's opinion, it is an idea full of promise. It tends not only to propagate in the different countries the knowledge and use of the best methods of public health and disease-prevention, but also to give the personnel of health services the feeling that all are taking part, each in his own country, in a common work, the object of which is to improve the lot of humanity as a whole, and, finally, to establish direct personal relations between the sanitary administrations of the various countries. I wish in a few words to call your attention to the development of the interchange of personnel system in the course of the present year, and to point out how it has evolved in the light of the experience which has gradually been gained.

Three interchanges of medical officers of health, known as collective interchanges, were organised. The first, which lasted two months, from October to December 1922, was organised in Belgium and Italy. Twenty-three medical officers, representing nine different countries, took part in it. The second was organised in England and lasted seven weeks, followed by five weeks' study in Austria. Some 30 medical officers, belonging to 17 different countries, took part in this second experiment, which, like the first, ended at Geneva with a final Conference. The medical officers exchanged views on the results of their studies, and submitted extremely interesting reports, comparing the working of sanitary services in the countries visited with their own.

The essential part of the interchange consisted in a period of service of several weeks with the local sanitary administrations of the countries visited, the visitors being distributed in groups. In this manner they were able to live the life of their colleagues and to observe their daily round of duty.

The experience of these first two attempts showed that it would be well at first to confine the visit to a single country. A very full programme lasting six weeks, such as that arranged for Great Britain and Austria, resulted in the participants feeling somewhat exhausted at the end of the first part of the exchange. It was obviously necessary to arrange to extend the period several weeks. It was recognised that in future it would be indispensable to communicate to health administrations a detailed programme four to six months in advance, and, as far as possible, to forward at the same time the documents to be studied during the interchange. It is likewise necessary to ask health services to make the nominations four to six months in advance in order to allow of direct communication with the officials chosen, so as to give each of them a clear idea of the scope and nature of the exchange. It was also recognised that a group taking part in a period of practical service should not consist of more than two or three officers.

The Committee has taken these considerations into account in organising the third collective interchange, which began on 10th September at Washington.

Twenty-four medical officers, representing 18 European and American countries, are taking part in this interchange. These 24 officers will spend their period of practical service in the sanitary administrations of the municipalities of the various States, and in the Federal Health Service, the whole lasting about 100 days.

Two other interchanges of a different type have been organised. Those taking part in them were specialists in malaria or in the work of public health laboratories. The malaria exchange was organised in Italy, while the interchange between the personnel of the various public health institutes, which have appointed their higher officials for the purpose, is taking place at the present moment.

The Assembly will doubtless recollect that it is thanks to a subsidy from the Rockefeller Foundation that the Health Committee has been able to organise this very extended liaison system, which may be regarded as a model one, between the technical health services.

For the year 1924, the Health Organisation has decided, in agreement with the Council, that four collective interchanges shall take place—one in Great Britain, a second in the Netherlands and Denmark, a third in Switzerland, and a fourth to be organised particularly for the countries of the Far East.

It has further been decided to organise two interchanges in which a limited number of specialists either in tuberculosis or in school hygiene will take part.

The Assembly will perhaps be glad to have a list of the States whose sanitary administrations have benefited by these interchanges up to now. They are as follows :—

Albania, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Spain, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States of America and the Ukraine.

The total number of medical officers who have taken part in this system of exchanges is 108.

II.—A new type of interchange will shortly be instituted, thanks to a new grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation a few months ago. It will be used more especially for the purpose of establishing direct relations between the technical officers in charge of the services of public health statistics of their respective countries.

As my colleagues are aware, the system of health statistics is far from being uniform in the various countries, and health administrations have long been agreed that the initiation of a thorough and systematic study of the methods of interpreting the data regarding the course of epidemics in the various countries is greatly needed. Thanks to this new system of interchange, some 12 medical statistical experts will be able to work in the office of our Health Section at Geneva, and will this year extend their investigations to a few offices of health statistics, such as those in London, Berne and in the Netherlands.

The Second Committee emphasises its desires to establish still closer relations between national services and international organisations dealing with the question of public health, in accordance with the proposition made by the Delegate of Cuba, which it examined. It noted that the Council, on the proposal of the Health Committee, had taken a decision regarding the establishment of a liaison between the Health Organisation of the League of Nations and the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau. This liaison has been effected in the most simple and practical manner, thanks to the fact that Dr. Chagas (Brazil) and Dr. Cumming, Director of the United States Public Health Service and Director of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, attend the meetings of the Health Committee.

III.—The Health Organisation has also continued to develop its service of epidemiological intelligence, established by the vote of the Second Assembly. The service is now publishing monthly reports, which supply official data on the course of epidemics in all countries of the world to all public health services, and it is continuing to issue special reports, sometimes twice a week, as soon as it receives definite news of the outbreak of important epidemics. As was the case last year, special attention has been devoted to Russia and to Eastern Europe.

A quick intelligence service giving the course of the great epidemics is of special importance as far as the countries of the Far East are concerned. This question is connected with the problem of quarantine arrangements in the ports of the Far East, and for the purpose of investigating all these cognate questions a mission was sent to the more important ports of the Far East.

I should like to mention that this was the first mission that the League has sent to the Far East. It received a very cordial welcome from all countries, including my own.

The Service of Epidemiological Intelligence has also initiated a systematic survey of health organisation and of health statistics in all European countries. Reports of great value have been forwarded to it by the heads of the health services of all these countries, and the work will be extended to other nations.

IV.—There is nothing academic about this work. Certain Governments have referred to the Health Organisation for its advice on special problems. The Albanian Government called the attention of the Health Committee to the importance, both from a health and an economic point of view, of the problem of malaria in Albania. It requested the Committee to outline a plan of campaign against malaria with the object not merely of arresting but of eradicating the disease.

The Netherlands Government has requested the Health Committee to undertake an enquiry into the possibility of classifying ports according to the arrangements they possess for the medical inspection and treatment of ships.

The Netherlands Government was led to make this request because it wished to see the practice, at present in force in all Dutch ports, applied to all ports. In accordance with Dutch legislation regarding the risk of infection by ships, ships admitted on a clean bill of health to certain ports specified by the competent authorities of the Netherlands Government, are exempt from medical inspection on their arrival at other ports. The Netherlands Government considers that it would be of great advantage to international shipping if this practice could be extended as far as possible. Considering, however, that it would be difficult for it to form an opinion of the present value of the health procedure in foreign ports, the Netherlands Government believes that this enquiry could be more easily carried out by an international organisation. It believes that if the Health Organisation of the League undertook this enquiry, the Netherlands Government itself, as well as other Governments, would be prepared to grant exemption from health inspection to any vessels which had been given a clean bill of health by one of the ports specified by the technical organisation of the League of Nations.

V.—I should like to remind the Assembly that the Health Committee last year undertook work on the standardisation of sera and of serological reactions.

This work has resulted in the introduction of an international unit to express the value of anti-diphtheritic and anti-tetanic sera. Very important work in connection with other sera is at present being done. Further, with the authority of the Council, the Committee has made arrangements for the investigation of the methods of standardising certain drugs and pharmaceutical products of great importance. A special technical conference was held for this purpose in Edinburgh in July last, and research work is about to begin in a series of laboratories.

The Second Committee has expressed its wish to see this work of the Health Committee further developed. It desires to emphasise that it will lead to researches of immediate practical usefulness and give a great impetus to international co-operation between the principal institutes of medical research throughout the world.

M. Dvoracek, of the Czechoslovak Delegation, has drawn the attention of the Second Committee to the fact that it would be advisable to obtain the co-operation of the Governments in applying the results obtained by the Health Committee in the investigations on the standardisation of anti-toxic sera.

As this question is very technical, the Second Committee expressed the opinion that the Health Organisation be asked to stand by the proposition of the honourable Delegate for Czechoslovakia and to present to the Council appropriate recommendations.

VI. The Assembly is aware of the work carried out during the last three years by the Epidemic Commission. During the last eight months this Commission has undertaken a great vaccination campaign among the refugees in Greece. It has organised a service of preventive vaccination, and three million individual vaccinations have been performed. This work was done at the request of the Greek Health Authorities, close touch being maintained with the High Commissariat for Refugees.

The Commission has also continued its work, in close connection with the Polish Health Service, for the protection of the European Health Zone established on both sides of the Russo-Polish frontier. It has also continued its epidemiological investigations and its technical collaboration with the Russian Health Services.

It is helping the Latvian Health Services to establish a maritime quarantine station at Libau.

The Assembly will, I am sure, agree with the Second Committee in recognising that both the past and the present activities of the Epidemic Commission—the rapid action which it has taken when public health has been threatened, and its work in collecting information as to the spread of epidemics—have proved remarkably successful and effective.

The Second Committee has adopted a Resolution concerning the Epidemic Commission which, in conformity with the Rules of Procedure, will be examined by the Fourth Committee before it is submitted to the Assembly.

VII.—I shall now pass on to the examination of the scheme for the constitution of the Health Organisation of the League in the form in which it is submitted to the Assembly.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, in Article 23 (f), provides that, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions, the League shall endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24 of the Covenant further provides that there shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent.

In accordance with these provisions, and to help the League to fulfil the task imposed upon it by Article 23 (f) already quoted, the First Assembly expressed the intention of placing the Office international d'hygiène under the direction of the League of Nations, and drew up a general plan for an International Health Organisation, according to which it was to include :—

- (1) The Office international d'hygiène publique, which, reinforced by delegates from the countries which did not take part in the Rome Conference, was to become the General Committee.
- (2) A Technical Committee.
- (3) A Secretariat.

The unanimous agreement of the Governments could not be obtained with regard to the attachment of the Office international d'hygiène publique to the League of Nations.

In these circumstances, the Second Assembly, after noting the measures taken by the Council to carry out, as far as possible, the resolution of the First Assembly, adopted the following resolution :—

“ The Health Organisation of the League of Nations shall provisionally comprise a Health Committee. The Secretariat of this Organisation shall be appointed by the Secretary-General of the League, and be responsible to him, and shall be placed under a Medical Director.”

The Provisional Health Committee set up by the Council was therefore approved by the Assembly.

The Third Assembly expressed the opinion that the Health Organisation of the League of Nations met a permanent need, and that it was essential that it should continue its work.

The Assembly further decided that a scheme should be drawn up, before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly, on the basis laid down and in accordance with the principles approved by the First Assembly for the technical organisations of the League, for the constitution of a permanent Health Organisation, and that the scheme should then be submitted for approval to the Fourth Assembly.

This organisation was to be entrusted with the duties defined by the First and Second Assemblies.

In consequence of this decision, the Council of the League of Nations decided on 30th January 1923 to constitute a special Mixed Committee composed of an equal number of members of the Health Committee of the League and of the Office international d'hygiène publique. The duty of the Committee was to prepare a scheme for the constitution of the Permanent Health Organisation.

The resolution of the Council having been accepted by the Committee of the Office international d'hygiène, the special Mixed Committee met in Paris last May.

This Committee drew up a scheme of organisation which has been favourably considered by the Council of the League of Nations, and is at the present moment being examined by the Assembly.

Being anxious to avoid the overlapping which might result from the existence of two separate organisations, the Mixed Committee considered it desirable to establish a close connection between the Health Service of the League of Nations and the Office international d'hygiène publique by establishing the Health Organisation on a similar basis to that of the other technical services of the League.

In accordance with this principle, the proposed Health Organisation is to include :—

- (1) An Advisory Council;
- (2) A Health Committee;
- (3) A Health Section, forming part of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The work of the Advisory Council will be entrusted to the Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique.

The Health Committee is to be composed of 16 members, namely, the Chairman of the Committee of the Office, nine members chosen by that Committee, and six members appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, after consultation with the Health Committee.* It is further suggested that the Council should, if necessary, appoint four extra Health Assessors, who would be regarded as active members of the Committee. The Second Committee considers that these assessors should be appointed for a period of three years in the same way as the other members of the Committee.

* As the new Health Committee will not yet be in existence, the Second Committee believes that the Council should consult the Chairman of the Provisional Health Committee before making the first appointments.

The Health Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations will continue to be administered in accordance with the regulations governing the organisations of the League of Nations (see Resolution of the First Assembly of 9th December 1920).

All steps have been taken to establish close and profitable relations both between the Advisory Council and the Health Committee, and between the Office international and the Health Section of the League; the two organisations will keep in touch with each other and will forward to the Members of the Council and of the Committee all documents relating to their work.

The Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique will retain all its powers and will become the Advisory Council of the League of Nations. Its duty will be to consider and discuss any questions which the Health Committee of the League may think fit to submit to it, either on its own initiative or at the request of the Council.

The importance of the opinions and resolutions of the Committee of the Office is enhanced by the fact that it is composed of delegates of all the participating States.

The Committee, which has a large number of members and meets only twice a year, has not always the resources which are indispensable for any exhaustive and practical study of the questions submitted to it. It has, therefore, been provided that the Committee may entrust the preparation of its work to the Health Committee of the League of Nations if it considers that this procedure is likely to assist its investigations. The Health Committee is a less scattered body and has greater elasticity. It may, if occasion arises, carry out enquiries, appoint special sub-committees, and attach to them any qualified persons whose assistance it desires.

The Health Committee of the League of Nations will thus be responsible for the preliminary work on which the Advisory Council's investigations will be based. The Health Committee will also hold itself at the disposal of the Council of the League of Nations to consider all questions which fall within its competence and the solution of which would not appear to require any action on the part of the Advisory Council or would be more quickly secured without such action.

Lastly, the Health Committee will direct the work of the Health Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. This Section, which is under the Medical Director and which will act as the Secretariat of the Health Organisation, forms part of the machinery of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The powers and duties of the Health Section will be determined by the Health Committee and submitted for the approval of the Secretary-General of the League.

Such are the proposals of the Mixed Committee with regard to the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. They will not involve any increase in expenditure of the League. There is no reason to anticipate the convening of any special sessions of the Office for the consideration of the questions which may be submitted to it by the Council or the Assembly of the League.

The Assembly has therefore every guarantee as regards financial matters.

It need hardly be stated that the Committee and the Health Section will be established in the same place as the League of Nations. The Office international d'hygiène publique will remain in Paris, as provided in the Rome Agreement of 1907.

The Assembly will wish to associate itself with Viscount Ishii, the *rapporteur* to the Council, in congratulating the Mixed Committee on the great thoroughness which it has displayed in solving the problem put before it. Taking into account the experience gained by the other League Committees, it has given our Health Committee all the elasticity that it ought to have, and in particular it has made provision—with the Council's approval, of course—for the formation of sub-committees, the consultation of experts, &c. It has specifically provided that the Health Committee's work is to be confined within the limits of its competence, as laid down by the Council and the Assembly of the League. It is therefore clear that the Council will be asked for its approval in all cases.

The Health Committee, thus constructed, will direct the health work of the League of Nations. Its executive organ, the Health Section of the Secretariat, will remain under the Secretary-General's orders and be responsible to him, but in technical matters it will follow the guiding principles laid down for it by the Health Committee (see Resolution of the First Assembly of 9th December 1920).

The Second Committee accepted, with the greatest possible satisfaction, the scheme of the Mixed Committee for the constitution of the Health Organisation of the League. The Committee would like to emphasise that the intimate association created by this agreement between the Organisation of the League of Nations and the Office International will lead to a simplification of the work and consequently a diminution of the charges which the League has assumed in order to carry out the obligations imposed on it by Article 23 (f) of the Covenant.

The Committee considers that the Health Section of the Secretariat should confine itself to doing the work prescribed by the preceding Assemblies, as has been done hitherto. The work of the Health Committee and of the Health Section should be in the future the same as it has been in the past, namely, to give the Council advice, when called upon to do so, to carry out the programme drawn up by the Advisory Council for its guidance; to execute any mandate given to it by the Council or by the Assembly of the League; to take all emergency measures which may be asked by any Member of the League, on the application of the Governments concerned; and, finally, to act as organ of mediation and interpretation with regard to agreements.

The Second Committee considers it advisable that the agreement between the Office and the Health Services of the League, which it regards as transitional, should develop in the direction of unification.

It might be useful, perhaps, to consider whether the Advisory Council could act in the place of conferences for the conclusion or revision of certain conventions. In this way appreciable economies would be effected, and overlapping with international conferences avoided. These conferences, however, may have a more general constitution and at times more specific duties.

The Second Committee has examined certain suggestions which were put forward by several of its members.

M. Ador requested that the members of the Health Committee be appointed as representatives of their respective Governments and not in their private capacity.

The delegates to the Office international took part in the meetings as representatives of their Governments, and it seemed reasonable that the Health Committee—constituted as suggested—should include among its members both heads of administrative services, dependent as such on their own Governments, and representatives of the medical profession who had specialised in public health and preventive medicine. The method of election proposed by the Mixed Committee would obviously lead to the inclusion in the Health Committee of representatives from both these categories.

The Second Committee was entirely in agreement with M. Ador's desire that the work of the International Health Organisation of the League of Nations, even when at a preparatory stage of enquiry and investigation, should be carried on in the closest possible co-operation with the Governments. The Committee considers, however, that co-operation between the Health Committee and the Governments would in practice be realised without difficulty; most of the members would be selected from the Office international, sitting on the Committee as experts, and attending the Office international as representatives of their Governments. The Committee would certainly include a high proportion of officials from the Public Health Departments. Otherwise there would be a risk that the decisions of a Committee consisting of Government representatives might be influenced by considerations other than those of a scientific or technical character.

Moreover, it is difficult to see how the Advisory Council could nominate nine members of the Committee and the League another six to represent their Governments; such nominations are clearly the prerogative of Governments themselves.

It was suggested in M. Avramovitch's proposal that in the choice of members of the Health Committee, both as regards members to be elected by the Office international and those to be appointed by the Council, due weight should be given to the importance the various Governments attach to health questions and also to geographical representation. It would probably be enough to draw the attention of the Organisation and of the Council to the fact that they would be justified in entrusting this matter to an international body of experts, such as the Committee of the Organisation.

M. Zumeta reminded the Second Committee that the Venezuelan Delegation had made the following statement to the Third Assembly:—

"The Venezuelan Delegation is of the opinion that the advisory and technical duties of the Provisional Health Committee and of the Permanent Health Organisation should be more clearly defined, in order that, except in urgent cases and with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, these Technical Organisations may not proceed to take any steps except such as are in conformity with a plan previously submitted for approval to the Assembly."

He was reminded that M. Rivas-Vieña, the Chilean Delegate and *rapporteur* of the Second Committee of the Third Assembly, had drawn attention to the fact that the Resolution adopted by the Second Assembly, on the basis of which the plan then under discussion had been drawn up, and had stated explicitly that the Permanent Health Organisation should be established "on the basis of, and in conformity with, the principles adopted by the First Assembly for the Technical Organisations of the League," and that this organisation "should be entrusted with duties defined by the First and Second Assemblies."

The Venezuelan Delegation was satisfied with this statement.

The Second Committee considered that the draft constitution for the Health Organisation drawn up by the Mixed Committee was not in any respect incompatible with the Resolution of the Third Assembly, and assumed that the Health Organisation in its new form would still be controlled throughout by the Council and the Assembly. (*See Resolution of the First Assembly of 9th December 1920, on the relations of the Technical Organisations of the League with the Council and the Assembly.*)

Jonkheer van Eysinga and M. Avramovitch suggested to the Second Committee that it would be advisable in future to adopt the title of "Health Organisation" instead of "Permanent Health Organisation," and "Advisory Health Council" instead of "General Advisory Health Council."

The honourable Delegate of the Netherlands has further asked that the annual report which the Health Committee will present to the Advisory Health Council should also be submitted to the Assembly.

The Second Committee notes that it would be advisable that the agreement to be concluded between the League of Nations and the Office international d'hygiène publique should be terminable at 12 months' notice.

The Second Committee fully endorses these suggestions.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO THE REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE ON THE WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

Presented to the Assembly by the Rapporteur, M. Adatei.

The Second Committee has examined a motion put forward by Sir Neville Howse, the honourable Delegate for Australia, in which it is proposed that the reports presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission by the mandatory Powers should be presented to the Health Committee of the League for any comments which it may desire to make after studying the chapters of the reports dealing with questions of public health.

The Second Committee, desirous of seeing intimate relations established between the special Technical Organisations of the League, has decided to submit to the Assembly the following Resolution, which I have the honour to present:—

"The Assembly considers that all the health reports presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission should be submitted to the Health Committee of the League of Nations for any recommendations it desires to make."

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Reduction of Armaments.* (Rapporteur, M. Benes.)

The Third Committee of the Assembly has devoted its sittings to the examination of the work accomplished during the year by the League of Nations in the matter of disarmament.

It took as the basis for its work the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments, which was forwarded to it for that purpose by the Council.

This Report is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, while the second discusses other matters relating to the question of disarmament, which also came within the purview of the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission.

For the sake of clearness, the present Report will likewise be divided into two parts, corresponding to the two parts of the Temporary Mixed Commission's Report.

PART I.—DRAFT TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

I.—ORIGIN OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which the Temporary Mixed Commission has submitted to the Third Committee, and which is now submitted by the latter in a somewhat amended form to the Assembly, is the fruit of long labour undertaken by the Temporary Mixed Commission since its establishment: the work was entrusted to that body in pursuance of para. (b) of Resolution 3 of the First Assembly, which is worded as follows:—

“The Assembly invites the Council—

“(b) to instruct a Temporary Commission, composed of persons possessing the requisite competence in matters of a political, social and economic nature, to prepare, for submission to the Council in the near future, reports and proposals for the reduction of armaments as provided for by Article 8 of the Covenant.”

This task was defined more clearly in Resolution 2, which provides—

“That the Temporary Mixed Commission be asked to make proposals on general lines for the reduction of national armaments which, in order to secure precision, should be in the form of a Draft Treaty or other equally defined plan, to be presented to the Council, if possible, before the Assembly next year.”

The investigations undertaken by the Temporary Mixed Commission, in pursuance of these resolutions, enabled it to lay before the Third Assembly the general principles which, in its opinion, might serve as a basis for the Draft Treaty which it had been asked to draw up.

These general principles, after discussion by the Third Assembly, were defined in a Resolution known as Resolution XIV., the text of which is as follows:—

“XIV.—(a) The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the question of a General Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, being of opinion that this report can in no way affect the complete validity of all the Treaties of Peace or other agreements which are known to exist between States; and considering that this report contains valuable suggestions as to the methods by which a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee could be made effective, is of the opinion that—

“(1) No scheme for the reduction of armaments, within the meaning of Article 8 of the Covenant, can be fully successful unless it is general.

“(2) In the present state of the world many Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their country.

“(3) Such a guarantee can be found in a defensive agreement which should be open to all countries, binding them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a pre-arranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked, provided that the obligation to render assistance to a country attacked shall be limited in principle to those countries situated in the same part of the globe. In cases, however, where, for historical, geographical, or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defence in accordance with the above-mentioned plan.

“(4) As a general reduction of armaments is the object of the three preceding statements, and the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee the means of achieving that object, previous consent to this reduction is therefore the first condition for the Treaty.

“This reduction could be carried out either by means of a general treaty, which is the most desirable plan, or by means of partial treaties designed to be extended and open to all countries.

“In the former case, the Treaty will carry with it a general reduction of armaments. In the latter case, the reduction should be proportionate to the guarantees afforded by the Treaty.

“The Council of the League, after having taken the advice of the Temporary Mixed Commission, which will examine how each of these two systems could be carried out, should further formulate and submit to the Governments for their consideration and sovereign decision the plan of the machinery, both political and military, necessary to bring them clearly into effect.

“(b) The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the various Governments the above proposals for their observations, and requests the Temporary Mixed Commission to continue its investigations, and, in order to give precision to the above statements, to prepare a Draft Treaty embodying the principles contained therein.”

The work of the Temporary Mixed Commission during the past year has consisted in establishing on this foundation the Draft Treaty, taking into account the proposals made to it in this connection by two of its members (Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel Réquin), the opinions of a certain number of Governments on Resolution XIV., which had been submitted to them, and the technical and political reports prepared respectively by the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions, and by the sub-Committee formed from among the members of the Temporary Mixed Commission in order to follow closely the progress of this work. All these texts have been brought to the notice of the various Governments and of the Assembly, as Annexes to the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission.

The Third Committee has continued to work on the basis of these very exhaustive reports. It has also had the advantage of being able to obtain the valuable co-operation of a Committee of Jurists, whose services were placed at its disposal by the Council, and whose advice has been of the greatest help to it in the course of its deliberations.

II.—ANALYSIS OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

1—*The Draft Treaty and the Covenant.*

Attention should be drawn at the outset to the close connection between the Draft Treaty and the Covenant.

In a certain sense it may be said that the whole of the proposed treaty is implicitly contained in paras. 2 to 4 of Article 8 of the Covenant, which provide that:—

“The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate a plan for such reduction [of armaments] for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

“Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

“After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed may not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.”

From this point of view the Draft Treaty might be regarded as the procedure which the Temporary Mixed Commission recommends to the Council for the purpose of carrying out the task incumbent upon the Council under the terms of the paragraphs of Article 8 of the Covenant set out above.

The logical relationship between this Article of the Covenant and the Treaty appears clearly in Resolution XIV.

Faced by the necessity for preparing the way for the reduction of armaments, the Commission began by realising that a certain number of States are not in a position to contemplate a reduction of their armaments without receiving in exchange a guarantee of their security.

The necessity, therefore, arises of strengthening the sentiment of international confidence by defining more clearly everything in the Covenant which may be regarded as an endeavour to obtain a mutual guarantee of security.

A certain connection thus becomes apparent between the work of disarmament and certain Articles of the Covenant, such as Articles 10 and 16*.

But as soon as an appeal is made to States whose safety is not threatened, there arises, in addition to the admitted dependence of disarmament upon the guarantee, a further dependence of the guarantee on the disarmament necessary to satisfy public opinion in such countries.

This is the foundation of the rule upon which the Draft Treaty is based. *The guarantee and disarmament are interdependent.*

It should, however, be emphasised that this rule is merely the result of practical experience, and is in no way the expression of a legal principle.

Certain Members of the Third Committee have indeed raised against this rule an objection founded upon the Covenant, and supported by the undeniable fact that the States signatories of the Covenant undertook to effect reductions in armaments without any question of guarantees other than those of the Covenant. This idea is reflected in the replies to Resolution XIV.—particularly those given by certain Northern European States. It would seem, however, that the apparent contradiction between the Covenant and the rule laid down in Resolution XIV. can be readily removed by pointing out that, as has already been observed, this rule is merely the result of experience, and is the real governing factor in the disarmament problem, at all events for a certain number of countries.

Therefore the Treaty of Guarantee would be regarded as the means recommended by the Committee for adapting the obligations contained in Article 8 of the Covenant to the realities of the present situation.

Furthermore, the draft differs from the Covenant in regard to its purpose, the nature and definite character of the obligations it contains, and the countries which may adhere to it.

The purpose of the draft is obviously narrower than that of the Covenant. The Covenant is directed towards the pure ideal of world peace and justice; the draft merely aims at the reduction of armaments. The mutual guarantee and the confidence to which it should give birth are the means which have been thought necessary to attain this object.

The obligations and the corresponding rights embodied in the draft are narrower, and at the same time more definite, than those contained in the Covenant. In the draft, the right to the guarantee in case of aggression is absolute, subject to reciprocity (Article 17). The obligations are of two kinds: those which are entailed by the guarantee offered to countries attacked and which are of a more definite nature than the analogous obligations in the Covenant, since they are derived from and correspond strictly with the undertaking to disarm, and those which are directed towards the actual object of the Treaty—a reduction of armaments.

In this aspect, the draft, though narrower and more definite, may be regarded—as one of the most diligent of its authors, Senator Lebrun, has so happily phrased it—as a prolongation of the Covenant.

As regards the countries which would adhere to it, the draft might not apply to certain States signatories to the Covenant, while at the same time it is open to the adhesion, under certain conditions, of States which are not at present Members of the League. Moreover, the draft contains an article providing for partial or conditional adhesion subject to reciprocity.

Lastly, mention should here be made of the attitude adopted by certain members of the Committee who consider that the draft, which was solely directed towards the extension of the Covenant by Delegations, the legal and moral aspects of the Covenant should be developed side by side with this development of material guarantees. They particularly emphasise the importance of asking those countries which would, under the present scheme, have the advantage of the guarantee offered by the Draft Treaty for guarantees of a “reasonable” policy (that is to say, they should observe the obligations contained in the Covenant regarding the registration and publication of international treaties and regarding adhesion to the optional clause of the Statute of the Court of International Justice).

While it fully appreciates these views, the Committee considers that some of the conditions proposed were out of proportion to the object in view, while others might raise difficulties in the way of the is a condition of its efficacy.

* In regard to this liaison, the Lithuanian Delegation wishes to emphasise the fact that it understands Article 10 of the Covenant of the League as in no wise prejudging territorial disputes between States adhering to this Treaty.

2.—*War of Aggression.*

The Committee has adopted the opinion of the Temporary Mixed Commission as to the desirability of beginning the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which is aimed at the reduction of armaments, with a solemn declaration condemning all wars of aggression. This is the fundamental idea of Article I. of the Draft Treaty.

It would undoubtedly have been better if this Article could have been retained in the brief and clear form in which it was drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

The Committee has, however, been obliged to add to this text provisions defining a case of legitimate warfare which is that of a State party to a dispute which has accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Council, the finding of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or an arbitration judgment, and which declares war against another contracting party which has not accepted the verdict of one of the international institutions. When, therefore, this exceptional case has been clearly and loyally admitted, Article I. none the less remains a solemn pact of non-aggression, the spirit of which must govern the application of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

3.—*Guarantee—Disarmament.*

The close connection in practice, as far as States adhering to the Treaty are concerned, between the guarantee and disarmament is dealt with in Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the Draft Treaty. This question has already been adequately investigated in connection with the relations between the Draft Treaty and the Covenant. It need only be stated here that the offer of a guarantee in exchange for the reduction of armaments is clearly set forth in Article 2, and Articles 3, 4 and 5 merely provide for its application.

These articles of the draft show that the guarantee and the reduction of armaments operate in the following manner:—

- (1) The general guarantee is established in principle and defined by the Treaty—first stage;
- (2) In the case of certain countries the guarantee is supplemented by special Treaties;
- (3) Each State establishes an estimate of the reduction which it can effect in armaments in virtue of the operation of this single or double guarantee—second stage;
- (4) On the basis of these estimates, the Council draws up the plan of reduction as provided in Article 8 of the Covenant—third stage;
- (5) After having adhered to the plan, the several States undertake to put this plan of reduction, in so far as it affects them, into operation within a period laid down in the Treaty—fourth stage;
- (6) When this undertaking has been given, the guarantee comes into force, and the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant regarding disarmament are in a fair way to fulfilment.

4.—*Case of Aggression.*

Article 4 determines the intervention of the Council of the League of Nations and the possible intervention of all the signatory States in case of aggression.

All the Committees which have been concerned directly or indirectly with the draft have found great difficulty in defining what constitutes an act of aggression.

The draft submitted to the Assembly is accompanied by a "*Commentary on the definition of a case of aggression*" drawn up by a special Committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission in collaboration with certain technical members of the Permanent Advisory Commission. The Third Committee recommends that this commentary be communicated to the several Governments for their information.

5.—*Special Treaties.*

The discussions in the Third Committee of the last Assembly, which culminated in the adoption of Resolution XIV., brought into prominence the technical difficulties which stood in the way of the establishment of the guarantee.

Certain States, which, for various reasons, regarded themselves as being specially threatened, whilst not denying the great moral and political value of the general guarantee, insisted on the impossibility of risking a reduction of their armaments in exchange for a general guarantee of assistance, the technical preparation, speed and effectiveness of which would be problematical.

It will be seen from the reports of the Permanent Advisory Commission that the technical experts, not merely of these countries but of all those countries represented on the Commission, were unanimously agreed that no assistance could be considered immediate and effective unless it were given in accordance with a prearranged plan.

This condition, which had to be accepted in view of the actual facts, at least as regards certain concrete cases, made it necessary, in the opinion of certain experts, to add to the General Treaty of Guarantee defensive agreements of a more limited nature, which would render possible the conclusion of military conventions to guard against possible threats of aggression.

This idea was not brought into the general system of the Treaty of Guarantee without meeting with very serious objections. The Temporary Mixed Commission and the Third Committee were obliged to reconcile the two attitudes—the attitude which favoured the General Treaty alone and that which favoured the General Treaty supplemented by partial treaties.

The objections which have been brought forward against partial treaties can all be traced to the fear of a reappearance under that name of the former system of alliances, which, in the past, has proved such a serious menace to the life of Europe.

Those who were opposed to partial treaties emphasised the fact that the actual existence of such treaties was evidence of suspicion and mistrust of some State, or group of States. The body of States signatories to the General Treaty were therefore divided in this way, and the division would only be aggravated by the creation of a defensive treaty giving increased power to the signatory countries as a group, even in the unlikely event of a reduction in their individual armaments. In view of this increase of collective power, and of the fact that the group would assume an "orientation" against one or several States, the Committee considered it reasonable to assume that the creation of a rival defensive treaty and the existence of two rival groups would lead to competitive armament, or at least to a strained political situation fraught with serious dangers.

In spite of this serious objection, the Committee stated by a majority vote that it felt bound—for the practical reasons explained above, and for many other reasons based on the requirements of the

practical policy of every day—to retain the system of complementary defensive treaties in its draft. The Committee considered that these agreements should be submitted to the Council for examination. It was only on this condition that certain Delegations expressed their willingness to withdraw their opposition to the principle of partial treaties.

Thus partial treaties cannot benefit by the general guarantee, until the Council has recognised that they are not contrary to the spirit of the Covenant and that they are in harmony with the General Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

To satisfy this condition, they must be registered at the League of Nations and published by the League (Article 7). In admitting these defensive treaties into the general scheme of the Treaty, the Committee was strongly influenced by the fact that some partial treaties already existed; by the consideration that the right of all States to make such treaties was, under certain conditions, recognised in the Covenant, and that the arrangement by which the Council admitted treaties complementary to the General Treaty simply incorporated such treaties, under the Council's guarantee, with a general system of mutual assistance and disarmament; and finally, by the fact that it was preferable to have them published and submitted to control, rather than to expose them to the danger of being concluded as secret treaties, which would constitute a continual menace to world peace.

6.—*Special Situations.*

(a) *States bound by Treaties of Peace.*

The Committee felt bound to examine the conditions under which States that had reduced their armaments in consequence of the Peace Treaties of 1919 and 1920 would be allowed to adhere to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. There were two aspects to the question. In the first place, it was necessary to define whether the reduction of armaments thus effected could be considered as of the same nature as the reduction which the States parties to the General Treaty undertook to carry out in exchange for the guarantee. An affirmative answer was given to this question and provision was accordingly made by the insertion of a phrase in Article 9 of the Treaty. It was further necessary, in view of the restricted use of their military forces imposed by the Peace Treaties, to define to what extent States disarmed by a Peace Treaty could co-operate in defending States that were attacked. In this matter the Committee adopted an elastic solution, by which these particular cases were to be covered by the principles of Article 17 of the Treaty permitting partial adhesion. This Article would allow States disarmed by the Peace Treaties to enjoy some of the advantages of the Treaty without being compelled to assume obligations which the Peace Treaties would prevent them from meeting.

(b) *Reduction without Guarantees.*

Article 17 introducing the principle of partial adhesion into the draft of the General Treaty, is intended in particular to meet the case of certain States which might consider themselves in a position to carry out the reduction without being obliged to have recourse to the military guarantee. It was natural that a more flexible system of adhesion should be provided for such States, allowing them to adhere to the whole and to add to it the weight of their moral authority and to the advantages of their co-operation in all civil spheres of action (economic, financial, &c.) and at the same time exempting them from assuming the military obligations which, as a general rule, are imposed upon the other parties.

Certain delegations, however, interpreted this Article as allowing adhesion to the Treaty of General Assistance of countries who incurred thereby neither military nor civil obligations (economic, financial, &c.), but whose adhesion was limited to a sort of moral co-operation accompanied, in any case, by an effective reduction of their armaments.

(c) *Position of the South American States.*

The Committee was deeply interested in the statement of the Chilean representative concerning the special situation of the South American States. In these countries the question which in Europe concerns the reduction of armaments assumes a different aspect, as, according to the information furnished by certain South American representatives, those countries have, to all intents and purposes, disarmed. As the Brazilian representative pointed out, the question for those countries is rather one of limitation.

The Committee has found it necessary to adapt the draft to this particular aspect of the disarmament problem found in South America, which may also occur elsewhere, by adding the word "limitation" to the word "reduction" in all sentences of the text in which the reduction of armaments was mentioned. The Committee considers that allowance will have to be made for the situation of the South American States and other similar situations in drawing up the plan for the reduction of armaments.

(d) *Ratifications and Denunciations.*

The Committee has been confronted with the legal and political difficulties raised by the questions of the ratification and denunciation of the Treaty. After studying suggestions put forward by the Committee of Jurists, the Committee, rather than propose a definite text, has decided to add to its draft two Articles (18 and 19) which respectively deal with these two questions, but merely as an indication of subject-matter requiring further study by those Governments to which the Draft is submitted with a view to arriving at a satisfactory and definite text.

7.—*Conclusions.*

The Draft Treaty examined by the Committee and communicated by it to the Assembly is a result of the foregoing considerations. The *Rapporteur* and his colleagues in the Committee will readily appreciate the imperfections that it contains. Both the difficulties inherent in such a complicated undertaking and the pre-occupations of the moment are reflected in the text that has been drawn up. The discussions of the Committee have revealed inevitable differences of opinion. In addition to these differences, which are largely due not only to the different political and geographical positions of the several countries, but also, perhaps, to that variety of intellectual tendencies which is one of the advantages and also one of the difficulties of any international work, certain problems of a legal nature have arisen. The attention of the Third Committee was drawn to the importance of these questions by the Committee of Jurists, to whom the Council had entrusted the re-drafting of the text itself.

The Committee did not feel able to enter forthwith upon the discussion of these questions of subject-matter, however interesting they might be, and however deeply it might feel indebted to the jurist who had indicated them. It merely adopted the purely formal alterations recommended by the Committee of Jurists. The improved text is communicated to the Assembly, with the remarks of the Committee of Jurists in connection with the matter treated.

The Committee is of the opinion that, although it is at present impossible to recommend to the Governments the immediate adoption of this text, it represents, none the less, in view of present circumstances, a step forward on the difficult path of armament reduction.

The Committee, therefore, considers that the draft should be sent in its present form to the Governments, which should be requested to express their views as soon as possible. These opinions would then provide material for the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission and of the Council, pending the next Assembly.

It is impossible to attain the object set before the States Members of the League of Nations in Article 8 of the Covenant which they have signed unless continual efforts are made to solve the problems that arise in the course of the discussion itself. It is even reasonable to suppose that the perseverance and willingness displayed in this methodical work constitute one of the moral forces that will certainly contribute to the good understanding essential to any work of disarmament.

In view of these considerations, the Third Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution : —

“ The Assembly.

“ Having taken cognisance of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission and amended by the Third Committee as a result of an exchange of views between its members, some of whom spoke in their personal capacity,

“ Considering that this discussion has revealed some divergences of view and, further, that a large number of Governments have not yet expressed their opinions on Resolution XIV. of the Third Assembly,

“ Decides to request the Council to submit the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance to the Governments for their consideration, asking them to communicate their views in regard to the aforesaid Draft Treaty.”

III.—TEXT OF THE TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

Preamble.

The High Contracting Parties, being desirous of establishing the general lines of a scheme of mutual assistance with a view to facilitate the application of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and of a reduction or limitation of national armaments in accordance with Article 8 of the Covenant “ to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations,” agree to the following provisions :

Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that aggressive war is an international crime and severally undertake that no one of them will be guilty of its commission.

A war shall not be considered as a war of aggression if waged by a State which is party to a dispute and has accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Council, the verdict of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or an arbitral award against a High Contracting Party which has not accepted it, provided however, that the first State does not intend to violate the political independence or the territorial integrity of the High Contracting Party.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties, jointly and severally, undertake to furnish assistance, in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty, to any one of their number should the latter be the object of a war of aggression, provided that it has conformed to the provisions of the present Treaty regarding the reduction or limitation of armaments.

Article 3.

In the event of one of the High Contracting Parties being of opinion that the armaments of any other High Contracting Party are in excess of the limits fixed for the latter High Contracting Party under the provisions of the present Treaty, or in the event of it having cause to apprehend an outbreak of hostilities, either on account of the aggressive policy or preparations of any State party or not to the present Treaty, it may inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that it is threatened with aggression, and the Secretary-General shall forthwith summon the Council.

The Council, if it is of opinion that there is reasonable ground for thinking that a menace of aggression has arisen, may take all necessary measures to remove such menace, and in particular, if the Council thinks right, those indicated in sub-*paras* (a), (b) (c), (d) and (e) of the second paragraph of Article 5 of the present Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties which have been denounced and those which have stated themselves to be the object of a threat of aggression shall be considered as especially interested and shall therefore be invited to send representatives to the Council in conformity with Articles 4, 15 and 17 of the Covenant. The vote of their representatives shall, however, not be reckoned when calculating unanimity.

Article 4.

In the event of one or more of the High Contracting Parties becoming engaged in hostilities, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide, within four days of notification being addressed to the Secretary-General, which of the High Contracting Parties are the objects of aggression and whether they are entitled to claim the assistance provided under the Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties undertake that they will accept such a decision by the Council of the League of Nations.

The High Contracting Parties engaged in hostilities shall be regarded as especially interested, and shall therefore be invited to send representatives to the Council (within the terms of Articles 4, 13 and 17 of the Covenant), the vote of their representative not being reckoned when calculating unanimity; the same shall apply to States signatory to any partial agreements involved on behalf of either of the two belligerents, unless the remaining Members of the Council shall decide otherwise.

Article 5.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to furnish one another mutually with assistance in the case referred to in Article 2 of the Treaty in the form determined by the Council of the League of Nations as the most effective, and to take all appropriate measures without delay in the order of urgency demanded by the circumstances.

In particular, the Council may—

- (a) decide to apply immediately to the aggressor State the economic sanctions contemplated by Article 16 of the Covenant, the Members of the League not signatory to the present Treaty not being, however, bound by this decision, except in the case where the State attacked is entitled to avail itself of the Articles of the Covenant;
- (b) invoke by name the High Contracting Parties whose assistance it requires. No High Contracting Party situated in a continent other than that in which operations will take place shall, in principle, be required to co-operate in military, naval or air operations;
- (c) determine the forces which each State furnishing assistance shall place at its disposal;
- (d) prescribe all necessary measures for securing priority for the communications and transport connected with the operations;
- (e) prepare a plan for financial co-operation among the High Contracting parties with a view to providing for the State attacked and for the States furnishing assistance the funds which they require for the operations;
- (f) appoint the Higher Command and establish the object and the nature of his duty.

The representatives of States recognised as aggressors under the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty shall not take part in the deliberations of the Council specified in this Article. The High Contracting Parties who are required by the Council to furnish assistance, in accordance with sub-para. (b), shall, on the other hand, be considered as especially interested, and, as such, shall be invited to send representatives, unless they are already represented, to the deliberations specified in sub-paras. (c) (d), (e) and (f).

Article 6.

For the purpose of rendering the general assistance mentioned in Articles 2, 3 and 5 immediately effective, the High Contracting Parties may conclude, either as between two of them or as between a larger number, agreements complementary to the present Treaty exclusively for the purpose of their mutual defence and intended solely to facilitate the carrying out of the measures prescribed in this Treaty, determining in advance the assistance which they would give to each other in the event of any act of aggression.

Such agreements may, if the High Contracting Parties interested so desire, be negotiated and concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Article 7.

Complementary agreements, as defined in Article 6, shall, before being registered, be examined by the Council with a view to deciding whether they are in accordance with the principles of their Treaty and of the Covenant.

In particular, the Council shall consider if the cases of aggression contemplated in these agreements come within the scope of Article 2 and are of a nature to give rise to an obligation to give assistance on the part of the other High Contracting Parties. The Council may, if necessary, suggest changes in the texts of agreements submitted to it.

When recognised, the agreements shall be registered in conformity with Article 18 of the Covenant. They shall be regarded as complementary to the present Treaty, and shall in no way limit the general obligations of the High Contracting Parties nor the sanctions contemplated against the aggressor State under the terms of this Treaty.

They will be open to any other High Contracting Party with the consent of the signatory States.

Article 8.

The States parties to complementary agreements may undertake in any such agreements to put into immediate execution, in the cases of aggression contemplated in them, the plan of assistance agreed upon. In this case they shall inform the Council of the League of Nations, without delay, concerning the measures which they have taken to ensure the execution of such agreements.

Subject to the terms of the previous paragraph, the provisions of Articles 4 and 5 above shall also come into force both in the cases contemplated in the complementary agreements and in such other cases as are provided for in Article 2 but are not covered by the agreements.

Article 9.

In order to facilitate the application of the present Treaty, any High Contracting Party may negotiate, through the agency of the Council, with one or more neighbouring countries for the establishment of demilitarised zones.

The Council, with the co-operation of the representatives of the Parties interested, acting as Members within the terms of Article 4 of the Covenant, shall previously ensure that the establishment of the demilitarised zone asked for does not call for unilateral sacrifices from the military point of view on the part of the High Contracting Parties interested.

Article 10.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the whole cost of any military, naval or air operations which are undertaken under the terms of the present Treaty and of the supplementary partial agreements, including the reparation of all material damage caused by operations of war, shall be borne by the aggressor State up to the extreme limits of its financial capacity.

The amount payable under this article by the aggressor shall, to such an extent as may be determined by the Council of the League, be a first charge on the whole of the assets and revenues of the State. Any repayment by that State in respect of the principal money and interest of any loan, internal or external, issued by it directly or indirectly during the war shall be suspended until the amount due for cost and reparations is discharged in full.

Article 11.

The High Contracting Parties, in view of the security furnished them by this Treaty and the limitations to which they have consented in other international treaties, undertake to inform the Council of the League of the reduction or limitation of armaments which they consider proportionate to the security furnished by the General Treaty or by the defensive agreements complementary to the General Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to co-operate in the preparation of any general plan of reduction of armaments which the Council of the League of Nations, taking into account the information provided by the High Contracting Parties, may propose under the terms of Article 8 of the Covenant.

This plan should be submitted for consideration and approved by the Governments, and, when approved by them, will be the basis of the reduction contemplated in Article 2 of this Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to carry out this reduction within a period of two years from the date of the adoption of this plan.

The High Contracting Parties undertake, in accordance with the provisions of Article 8, para. 4, of the Covenant, to make no further increase in their armaments, when thus reduced, without the consent of the Council.

Article 12.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to furnish to the military or other delegates of the League, such information with regard to their armaments as the Council may request.

Article 13.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the armaments determined for each of them, in accordance with the present Treaty, shall be subject to revision every five years, beginning from the date of the entry into force of this Treaty.

Article 14.

Nothing in the present Treaty shall affect the rights and obligations resulting from the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations or of the Treaties of Peace signed in 1919 and 1920 at Versailles, Neuilly, St. Germain and Trianon, or from the provisions of treaties or agreements registered with the League of Nations and published by it at the date of the first coming into force of the present Treaty as regards the signatory or beneficiary Powers of the said treaties or agreements.

Article 15.

The High Contracting Parties recognise from to-day as *ipso facto* obligatory, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice with regard to the interpretation of the present Treaty.

Article 16.

The present Treaty shall remain open for the signature of all States Members of the League of Nations or mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

States not Members shall be entitled to adhere with the consent of two-thirds of the High Contracting Parties with regard to whom the Treaty has come into force.

Article 17.

Any State may, with the consent of the Council of the League, notify its conditional or partial adherence to the provisions of this Treaty, provided always that such State has reduced or is prepared to reduce its armaments in conformity with the provisions of this Treaty.

Article 18.

[The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

It shall come into force:

In Europe when it shall have been ratified by five States, of which three shall be permanently represented on the Council:

In Asia when it shall have been ratified by two States, one of which shall be permanently represented on the Council;

In North America when ratified by the United States of America;

In Central America and the West Indies when ratified by one State in the West Indies and two in Central America:

In South America when ratified by four States;

In Africa and Oceania when ratified by two States.

With regard to the High Contracting Parties which may subsequently ratify the Treaty, it will come into force at the date of the deposit of the instrument.

The Secretariat will immediately communicate a certified copy of the instruments of ratification received to all the signatory Powers.

It remains understood that the rights stipulated under Articles 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8 of this Treaty will not come into force for each High Contracting Party until the Council has certified that the said High Contracting Party has reduced its armaments in conformity with the present Treaty or has adopted the necessary measures to ensure the execution of this reduction, within two years of the acceptance by the said High Contracting Party of the plan of reduction or limitation of armaments.]

Article 19.

[The present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of 15 years from the date of its first entry into force.

After this period, it will be prolonged automatically for the States which have not denounced it.

If, however, one of the States referred to in Article 18 denounces the present Treaty, the Treaty shall cease to exist as from the date on which this denunciation takes effect.

This denunciation shall be made to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, which shall, without delay, notify all the Powers bound by the present Treaty.

The denunciation shall take effect 12 months after the date on which notification has been communicated to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

When the period of 15 years, referred to in the first paragraph of the present Article, has elapsed, or when one of the denunciations made in the conditions determined above takes place, if operations undertaken in application of Article 5 of the present Treaty are in progress, the Treaty shall remain in force until peace has been completely re-established.]

IV.—COMMENTARY ON THE DEFINITION OF THE CASE OF AGGRESSION.

(Drawn up by a Special Committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission.)*

1. It would be theoretically desirable to set down in writing, if it could be done, an exact definition of what constitutes an act of aggression. If such a definition could be drawn up, it would then merely remain for the Council to decide in each given case whether an act of aggression within the meaning of this definition had been committed.

It appears, however, to be exceedingly difficult to draw up any such definition. In the words of the Permanent Advisory Commission, "under the conditions of modern warfare, it would seem impossible to decide even in theory what constitutes an act of aggression."

2. Hitherto, according to the opinion expressed by certain members of the Permanent Advisory Commission, in the Report drawn up by that Commission, "aggression could be defined as mobilisation or the violation of a frontier. This double test has lost its value."

It is further stated that—

"Mobilisation, which consisted, until quite recently, of a few comparatively simple operations (calling up of reserves, purchases or requisitions and establishment of war industries *after the calling up of the men*), has become infinitely more complicated and more difficult both to discover at its origin and to follow in its development. In future, mobilisation will apply not merely to the army, but to the whole country before the outbreak of hostilities (collection of stocks of raw materials and munitions of war, industrial mobilisation, establishment or increased output of industries). All these measures which give evidence of an *intention* to go to war may lead to discussions and to conflicting interpretations, thus securing *decisive* advantages to the aggressor unless action be taken."

3. Similarly, in the view of the Permanent Advisory Commission, the test of the violation of a frontier has also lost its value.

The Report states:—

"The violation of a frontier by 'armed forces' will not necessarily be, in future, such an obvious act of violence as it has hitherto been The passage of the frontier by the troops of another country does not always mean that the latter country is the aggressor. Particularly in the case of small States, the object of such action may be to establish an initial position which shall be as advantageous as possible for the defending country, and to do so before the adversary has had time to mass his superior forces. A military offensive of as rapid a character as possible may therefore be a means, and perhaps the only means, whereby the weaker party can defend himself against the stronger. It is also conceivable that a small nation might be compelled to make use of its Air Forces in order to forestall the superior forces of the enemy and take what advantage was possible from such action.

"Finally, the hostilities between two naval Powers generally begin on sea by the capture of merchant vessels or other acts of violence—very possibly on the high seas outside territorial waters. The same applies to air operations, which may take place without any violation of the air frontiers of States."

Nevertheless it is still conceivable that in many cases the invasion of a territory constitutes an act of aggression, and, in any case, it is important to determine which State had violated the frontier.

If the troops of one Power invade the territory of another, this fact in itself constitutes a presumption that the first Power has committed a wrongful act of aggression.

But, apart from the considerations already given, this is not entirely conclusive. When armies have been practically in contact on the frontier which divides their respective countries, it may be exceedingly difficult to obtain conclusive evidence as to which of them first crossed the frontier; and, once the frontier is crossed and hostilities have begun, it may not be possible to know from the geographical position of the troops alone which State was guilty.

4. In order to avoid such a case arising, the Council might desire, in certain cases where such a course could be followed without disadvantage to either party, either before hostilities began, or even

* This Committee was composed as follows:—

Lord Robert Cecil (Chairman), Count Bonin-Longare, M. Janssen, M. Jonhauw, Rear-Admiral Kiyokawa, Colonel Lohner, Admiral Marquis de Magaz, General de Marinis-Stondardo di Ricigliano, Lieut.-Colonel Réquin, Rear-Admiral Segrave.

after they had begun, to invite both parties to withdraw their troops a certain distance behind a given line. It might be that such a request could be made by the Council with the intimation that, if either party refused to accede to it, such refusal would be considered as an element in deciding which was the aggressor.*

5. There may, of course, be other cases in which some action of one of the parties will simplify the matter by proving it clearly to be the aggressor. If, for example, one Power carried out a large-scale attack upon the territory of the other, that would be conclusive. Similarly, a surprise attack by poison gas, executed from the air on the territory of the other party, would be decisive evidence.

6. It may, however, be accepted that no satisfactory definition of what constitutes an act of aggression could be drawn up. But even supposing that such a definition were possible, there would still be difficulty in determining when an act of aggression within the meaning of this definition has actually taken place. In the view of the Permanent Advisory Commission, the signs of an intention of aggression would appear in the following order:—

- “(1) Organisation on paper of industrial mobilisation.
- “(2) Actual organisation of industrial mobilisation.
- “(3) Collection of stocks of raw materials.
- “(4) Setting on foot of war industries.
- “(5) Preparation for military mobilisation.
- “(6) Actual military mobilisation.
- “(7) Hostilities.

“Numbers (1) and (5) (and to some extent Number (2)), which are in all cases difficult to recognise, may, in those countries which are not subject under the Peace Treaties to any obligation, to disarm, represent precautions which every Government is entitled to take.

“Number (3) may be justified by economic reasons, such as profiting by advantageous markets or collecting stocks in order to guard against the possible closing of certain channels of supply owing to strikes, &c.

“Number (4) (Setting on foot of war industries) is the first which may be definitely taken as showing an intention to commit aggression: it will, however, be easy to conceal this measure for a long period in countries which are under no military supervision.

“When Numbers (6) and (7) are known to have taken place, it is too late.

“In the absence of any indisputable test, Governments can only judge by an impression based upon the most various factors, such as:—

- “the political attitude of the possible aggressor;
- “his propaganda;
- “the attitude of his press and population;
- “his policy on the international market, &c.”

7. One of the conclusions which follows from the above contentions set forth in the report of the Permanent Advisory Commission is that, quite apart from the material sides of the aggressive intention, the real act of aggression may lie, not so much in orders given to its troops by one of the parties, as in the attitude which it adopts in the negotiations concerning the subjects of dispute. Indeed, it might be that the real aggression lies in the political policy pursued by one of the parties towards the other. For this reason it might perhaps appear to the Council that the most appropriate measure that could be taken would be to invite the two parties, either to abstain from hostilities or to cease the hostilities they have begun, and to submit their whole dispute to the recommendation of the Council or the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to undertake to accept and execute whatever recommendation or decision either of these bodies might give. Such an invitation might again be accompanied by an intimation that the party which refused would be considered to be the aggressor.

8. It is clear, therefore, that no simple definition of aggression can be drawn up, and that no simple test of when an act of aggression has actually taken place can be devised. It is therefore clearly necessary to leave the Council complete discretion in the matter, merely indicating that the various factors mentioned above may provide the elements of a just decision. These factors may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) Actual industrial and economic mobilisation carried out by a State either in its own territory or by persons or societies on foreign territory.
- (b) Secret military mobilisation by the formation and employment of irregular troops or by a declaration of a state of danger of war which would serve as a pretext for commencing hostilities.
- (c) Air, chemical or naval attack carried out by one party against another.
- (d) The presence of the armed forces of one party in the territory of another.
- (e) Refusal of either of the parties to withdraw their armed forces behind a line or lines indicated by the Council.†
- (f) A definitely aggressive policy by one of the parties towards the other, and the consequent refusal of that party to submit the subject in dispute to the recommendation of the Council or to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice and to accept the recommendation or decision when given.

9. In conclusion, it may be pointed out that in the case of a surprise attack it would be relatively easy to decide on the aggressor, but that in the general case, where aggression is preceded by a period of political tension and general mobilisation, the determination of the aggressor and the moment at which aggression occurred would prove very difficult.

* Count Bonin-Longare and General de Marinis state that they would prefer that this article should be suppressed.

M. Jouhaux prefers the original text, which runs as follows: “In order to avoid such a case rising, it might well be that the Council of the League might desire, either before hostilities began or even after they had begun, to invite both parties to withdraw their troops at a certain distance behind a given line. It might be that such a request could be made by the Council with the intimation that whichever party refused to accede to it would be considered the aggressor.”

† Count Bonin-Longare and General Marinis refer to the reservations made by them on No. 4.

But it must be remembered that in such a case the Council, under the provisions of the Covenant, will have been engaged in efforts to avoid war, and may therefore probably be in a position to form an opinion as to which of the parties is really actuated by aggressive intentions.

V.—NOTES BY THE COMMITTEE OF JURISTS.

On the proposal of M. Salandra, the Council of the League of Nations, at its meeting held on 1st December, decided to refer for examination to a Committee of Jurists nominated by the President the text of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

Following on this decision, M. le Vicomte Ishii, President of the Council, nominated the following Jurists as members of this Committee:—

Dr. Juan José Amezaga, Uruguay.
Professor Joseph Barthelemy, France.
M. C. Botella, Spain.

Dr. J. A. van Hamel, Director of the Legal
Section of the League of Nations.
Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Ireland.

His Excellency M. Afranio de Mello-Franco,
Brazil.

M. H. A. Rolin, Belgium.

His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja, Italy.

M. Yotaro Soughimoura, Japan.

M. Oesten Unden, Sweden.

The Committee held a number of meetings and examined the text of the Articles adopted by the Third Assembly Committee during its first reading. The observations which a study of this text suggested formed the subject of a series of Notes addressed on 14th, 19th, 22nd, 25th and 27th September, to M. Skirmunt, President of the Third Committee, and distributed to the members. A large number of these observations were adopted by the Third Committee during the second reading.

The following Notes on matters of substance are those which the Third Committee was unable to take into consideration by reason of the shortness of time available for completing its task.

(Signed) HENRI ROLIN, Secretary.

JOSEPH BARTHELEMY, President.

I.—PACT OF NON-AGGRESSION.

Article 1.

(Draft proposed by the Committee of Jurists.)

"The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that a war entered into contrary to the provisions of the Covenant constitutes an international crime, and they severally undertake that none of them will be guilty of its commission."

Observations:

1. The text proposed by the Third Committee constitutes an undertaking that the Contracting Parties will not be guilty of "aggressive war." This term is not used in the Covenant. Mention is made in the latter of aggression, menace of aggression, and resort to war. It prohibits resort to war in the cases indicated in Articles 12, 13 and 15, that is to say, until three months after the arbitral award or judicial decision or the report of the Council; or against a State which complies with a decision of the Court of Justice or a unanimous recommendation of the Council.

It authorises by implication war in the case of States which comply with a unanimous recommendation by the Council and, in general, in the case of all parties to a dispute in which the Council fails to reach a unanimous recommendation. (Article 15, para. 7.)

A war declared under these conditions may occasionally be justly described by public opinion as an aggressive war; it cannot, however, be considered as an international crime in the legal sense of the word, and the High Contracting Parties certainly cannot insist that the Council should consider as such the use which a Member, not a signatory of the Treaty, may make of a right reserved to it by the Covenant. The effect of the suggested stipulation should therefore be limited to the High Contracting Parties.

2. With regard to the signatories of the Treaty, the prohibition to resort to war presents serious practical difficulties; it would, in effect, imply an extension of the power of the Council, to whom the task of ensuring the execution of its recommendations taken on a simple majority vote would have to be entrusted. It seems that, either the draft should be completed in this respect, or else the amendment suggested above accepted.

3. The amendment proposed by the Committee of Jurists means no more than a reference to the obligations of the Covenant. The mention of these obligations at the beginning of the present draft might seem useless. It may be, however, justified on the grounds of the possible participation in the Treaty of States which are not Members of the League of Nations.

2.—OBLIGATIONS OF GENERAL ASSISTANCE.

Article 2.

Casus Fœderis. (Wording proposed by the Committee of Jurists.)

"The High Contracting Parties jointly and severally undertake to furnish assistance, in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty, to any one of their number which, after having reduced its armaments in accordance with the present Treaty, may be the object of a war, forbidden by the Covenant of the League of Nations either on account of its origin or of its object."

Observations:

The Committee of Jurists considers that the objections they have raised in Article 1 apply with even greater force to this Article. The word "aggression" covers not only all possible cases of recourse to war in violation of the Covenant, but applies also to certain other hypothetical cases and involves the carrying into effect of defensive mutual assistance in cases of recourse to war authorised by the Covenant.

The Committee of Jurists has already pointed out in the course of its observations referring to Article 1, that this solution would oblige the extension of the authority of the Council as a mediating body.

While Article 1 does not confer this right to the Council, Article 2 appeals to its intervention for the organisation of the mutual assistance.

The Committee sees here a new and serious difficulty. The case may be considered where a Member of the League not a Contracting Party attacks a Contracting Party under circumstances in which the Covenant implicitly authorises such a measure by Article 15, para. 6.

The Treaty becomes operative, but not the Covenant. The Council is called upon to intervene and to organise the action to be taken by the High Contracting Parties against a Member of the League which is exercising its right. Certain Members of the Council doubtless belong to States which are not themselves parties to the Treaty. Will they be able to take part in this use of the High Contracting Parties' forces against the State which, while not a party to the Treaty, is exercising the right conferred on it by the Covenant?

The Committee of Jurists considers that the solution of this problem would give rise to inextricable complications.

The text proposed by the Committee of Jurists refers to the Covenant. The expression "war forbidden on account of its object" aims at the possibility of a war the launching of which would not be contrary to the obligations of the Members of the League, defined by Articles 12-15, but that would nevertheless call forth a general intervention as being directed against the political independence or the territorial integrity of the member.

Article 4

Observations:

The Committee did not consider itself competent to delete the term of four days imposed on the Council by the text submitted, but it entertains doubts on the validity of any such clause, the penalty for non-observance of which it is impossible to conceive.

Further, in connection with the third paragraph, it is moreover of opinion that it is desirable to provide for the case in which there would be no "remaining Members," or, if any, they were too few in number, and belonged to countries too distant to permit of their taking authoritative and competent decisions.

3. COMPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS.

Articles 6 to 9.

Observations:

One member of the Committee of Jurists raised the question as to whether the High Contracting Parties were thereby deprived of the right of concluding partial agreements beyond the scope of the provisions of Articles 6, 7 and 8, and also as to whether they were free to conclude complementary agreements with States not parties to the Treaty. The Committee of Jurists did not consider itself in a position to express an opinion on these questions because of their political nature.

Article 9.

Demilitarised neutral zones. (Wording proposed by the Committee of Jurists.)

"In order to facilitate the application of the present Treaty, any High Contracting Party may negotiate under the auspices of the Council with one or more High Contracting Parties for the establishment of demilitarised neutral zones provided that this establishment does not involve unilateral or unequal sacrifices on the part of any of the parties."

Observations:

1. The Committee of Jurists thinks it would be better to adopt in the provision relating to neutralisation agreements the same wording as that used in connection with the complementary defensive agreements.

2. The object of this provision is apparently to oblige States to reply to any invitation addressed to them by a neighbouring State to have the question of creating a demilitarised zone examined before the Council. This obligation is not contained in the Covenant. It would therefore seem necessary to make it clear that it applies only to the High Contracting Parties.

3. Lastly, the Committee of Jurists thinks it necessary to point out that the draft did not define the legal consequences of such neutralisation agreements. Are they complementary to the General Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and does the violation of a neutral zone constitute a *casus federis*?

5.—COST OF INTERVENTION.

Article 10.

Payment of cost of operation of collective repression. (Wording proposed by the Committee of Jurists.)

"The High Contracting Parties are of opinion, in accordance with the spirit of this Treaty, that the whole cost of any military, naval or air operations which are undertaken for the repression of an aggression under the terms of the present Treaty, and also the reparation of all material damage caused by the operations and of all injuries suffered by civilians or members of the military forces, should be borne by the aggressor State up to the extreme limits of its financial capacity."

Observations:

1. The Committee of Jurists is of opinion that the High Contracting Parties cannot assume an engagement on this subject, for there is a possibility that the war claims might conflict as to priority with the claims of other States.

The Council must be trusted to satisfy in the greatest possible degree the principles laid down in the first paragraph.

2. The Committee of Jurists thinks that the Third Committee intended that mention should be made of injuries to individuals, who appeared to be excluded by the restrictive nature of the proposed working.

6.—DISARMAMENT.

Articles 11-13.

(No observations.)

7.—REFERENCES TO THE TREATIES IN FORCE.

Article 15.

(Draft proposed by the Committee of Jurists.)

"Nothing in the present Treaty shall affect the rights and obligations resulting from the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, or of the Treaties of Peace signed in 1923, 1919 and 1920 at Versailles, Neuilly, St. Germain, Trianon and Lausanne, or from the provisions of treaties or agreements registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations at the date of the drawing up of the present Treaty.

"The High Contracting Parties whose international status prohibits the use of military forces outside their frontiers, shall be *ipso facto* exempt from the duty of affording general military assistance as laid down in the present Treaty."

Observations :

By virtue of this provision, the High Contracting Parties recognise the validity of the international treaties mentioned above ; but it has seemed to the Committee of Jurists that this provision might at the most extend to the treaties in being at the time of the signing of the present treaty ; it seems impossible that the High Contracting Party should recognise the validity of treaties which might be concluded in the absence of all supervision, subsequently to signature and previously to the entry into force of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

2. The Committee of Jurists has considered it advisable to delete the mention of publicity, which depends on the Secretariat only and necessarily ensues upon registration.

The Committee of Jurists believes that in the same way as Switzerland has been enabled to adhere to the Covenant of the League of Nations in spite of its system of neutrality, in like manner the Third Committee admitted the eventuality of the general adhesion of this country and of the disarmed States to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, but it would seem advisable to embody this idea definitely in the Treaty.

8.—SIGNATURE, PARTIAL ADHESION, RATIFICATION AND DENUNCIATION.

*Articles 16-19.**Observations :*

On account of the shortness of time, the Committee of Jurists has been unable to consider these articles as fully as it would wish.

The Committee of Jurists considers it desirable, however, to call the attention of the Committee to complications which may arise should the Treaty be supposed to enter into force by continents owing to the fact that certain Powers have possessions in different continents. As regards Asia, for example, will it be sufficient if His Majesty the King of Great Britain has ratified the Treaty for India ?

PART II.—REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

I.—LIMITATION OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURE ON ARMAMENTS.

The Assembly has on several occasions advocated the limitation of armaments, pending the possibility of their reduction as a result of the preparatory work now in progress. With this end in view various recommendations have been voted by successive Assemblies. The last of these recommendations which the Temporary Mixed Commission has examined was made by the Third Assembly and is worded as follows :

"That the European States existing before the war of 1914 under their present description, whose judicial status has not been altered by the war, and which are not, at the moment, engaged in military operations which justify their armaments, be invited to reduce the total of their military, naval and air expenditure to the figures for 1913."

The enquiries of the Temporary Mixed Commission have shown the difficulties of carrying out this recommendation.

The Third Committee has, however, endeavoured to work on the lines laid down for it by the preceding Assembly, the more so as the statistical work of the Secretariat has shown a decrease in army expenditure in the case of most States. It therefore proposes to the present Assembly the adoption of the following resolution ;—

"The Assembly :

"Notes with great satisfaction that in the course of the last three years the States Members of the League have, with very few exceptions, been able to reduce their expenditure on armaments ;

"Desires that this fortunate development should become more marked and more general ;

"Recalls the resolutions of the preceding Assemblies concerning the limitation of expenditure on armaments ;

"And requests the Council to recommend to the Members of the League not to exceed, during the period necessary for the elaboration and the adoption of the general scheme for the reduction of armaments, the total expenditure on military, naval and air armaments provided for in the budget of the present fiscal year ;

"Subject to the reservation, however, that allowance shall be made—

"(a) for all contributions of effectives, material, or money recommended by the Council for the execution of the obligations provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant ;

"(b) for all exceptional situations brought to the notice of the Council and recognised by it as such."

(Guided by the Council's decision, and with a view to the continuation of the work of statistical enquiry with which the Temporary Mixed Commission has been occupied since the time of its appointment, the Third Committee has adopted the following resolution:—

"The Assembly expresses the approval of the decisions which the Council has taken in connection with the publication of a Year-Book of Statistical Information concerning National Armaments, and recommends that in preparing this volume the Secretariat should take into account the recommendations put forward in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission."

III.—PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND CONTROL OF THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS.

These two questions, which, as the Third Assembly recognised, are closely inter-related, call more and more urgently for international solution. It has been recognised on all sides that a solution is only possible as a result of co-operation on the part of the great producing countries.

The first attempt at solution—the St. Germain Convention—failed, principally because the United States Government found itself unable to ratify the Convention.

At the request of the Third Assembly, the Council again addressed to the United States Government an enquiry as to the conditions upon which it might be disposed to co-operate with the other States with a view to the solution of this serious problem.

It was while the deliberations of the Committee were in progress that the reply from the United States Government was received by the Council and submitted by the latter to the Assembly. This reply reiterates the objections of the United States Government to the St. Germain Convention, but apparently proposes no method and makes no suggestion likely to permit of an international solution of the problem in co-operation with the United States.

The Committee, nevertheless, considered that the League of Nations should persevere in its efforts in a matter of such infinite importance to the cause of international peace.

Taking into account the preliminary work already carried out by the Temporary Mixed Commission and by the Secretariat in this matter, it adopted the two following resolutions, in the hope that they would make it possible to arrive at a solution of the question at an early date:—

(a) *Traffic in Arms*—

"The Assembly recommends that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be invited to prepare a new Convention or Conventions to replace that of St. Germain for the control of the traffic in arms.

"The Temporary Mixed Commission should be requested to draw up the draft Convention or Conventions in such a form that they might be accepted by the Governments of all countries which produce arms or munitions of war.

"The Temporary Mixed Commission should, however, also make alternative proposals for a Convention or Conventions which might be adopted by some of the producing Powers, even if others refused their co-operation.

"The Assembly recommends that the Council should invite the United States Government to appoint representatives to co-operate with the Temporary Mixed Commission in preparing the draft Convention or Conventions."

(b) *Private Manufacture of Arms*:—

"The Assembly recommends that the Council should invite the Temporary Mixed Commission to refer its scheme for the control of private manufacture of arms and munitions to the Economic Committee of the League for its observations; and that it should also endeavour, in co-operation with the Economic Committee, to draw up draft Conventions for this purpose.

"The Assembly recommends that when the Council has received the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission concerning the arms traffic and private manufacture of arms, it should consider the question of summoning an International Conference to draw up conventions on this subject."

IV.—CHEMICAL WARFARE.

The Temporary Mixed Commission has, for the last year, had before it a resolution of the Third Assembly on this subject, the text of which is as follows:—

"(a) The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the subject of the development of chemical warfare, approves its action in establishing a special sub-Committee to report on the probable effects of chemical discoveries in future wars, and requests the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission to take every possible measure to secure the fullest publicity for the report of this sub-Committee.

"(b) The Assembly requests the Council to recommend the Members of the League and other nations to adhere to the Treaty of Washington (6th February 1922) concerning the use of asphyxiating gas and submarines in war, and other similar matters."

As regards the second part of this resolution, the Council decided to put the adhesion to the Washington Convention concerning the use of poisonous gas and submarines in war on the agenda of the International Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armaments proposed by the Assembly.

As regards the first paragraph, the Temporary Mixed Commission had appointed, from among its members, a Committee consisting of Lord Robert Cecil, Admiral Segrave, General de Marinis, and Colonel Requin, which, in consultation with eminent bacteriologists and chemists, had been engaged in drawing up the report suggested by the Assembly.

The Third Committee's discussions have again emphasised the importance of this question.

The necessarily inhuman nature of war is intensified by modern discoveries in the domains of chemistry and bacteriology. War being in itself a relentless struggle for life, chemical and bacteriological weapons emphasise the inhuman quality of this struggle, and heighten the dangers of war to such an extent as to threaten the very existence of mankind and civilisation.

It is, however, possible to turn this terrible danger to account by bringing it home to public imagination in order to make the outbreak of future wars even less likely.

The Committee has also discussed a proposal aiming at an extension of the work of the Special Committee to include the study and publication of the means of defence against chemical and bacterio-

logical weapons. The Committee did not feel itself to be in a position so to widen the mandate of the Special Committee, and therefore rejected the proposal.

In conclusion, the Third Committee proposed that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :—

“The Assembly awaits with interest the report of the Special Committee on the probable effects of chemical discoveries in future wars, and it again requests the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission to ensure by all possible means the fullest publicity to the report of the Committee.”

V.—THE EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NAVAL TREATY OF WASHINGTON TO NON-SIGNATORY STATES.

In the course of its discussions, the Third Committee considered M. Salandra's report to the Council relative to the extension of the principles of the Naval Treaty at Washington to non-signatory States. This report had been approved by the Council at its meeting of 20th September 1923.

In accordance with the terms of this report, the Council requested the Permanent Advisory Commission to enquire into the extension of its technical scheme relating to the application of the principles of the Treaty of Washington to States which had not signed that Treaty, and were not Members of the League. The Third Committee did not pass a specific resolution on this subject, but in its report it places on record the keen interest it takes in this question and expresses the hope that the International Conference summoned to consider the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty to non-signatory countries, will meet at as early a date as possible and with successful results.

VI.—DRAFT REGIONAL AGREEMENTS FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

The Committee has taken note of the chapter in the Temporary Mixed Commission's report relating to the Conference of Santiago and Moscow, to the Convention concluded between five Central American Republics on the limitation of armaments, as well as to the Continental Treaty for the Prevention of Disputes between the American States. The Committee, in its report, thought it advisable to call the Assembly's attention to the good example set by the States of America, which have succeeded in giving effect to an agreement for the limitation of their armaments. This convention belongs to the type of partial agreements which the Third Assembly had already considered and has recommended to the attention of the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission.

The Third Committee desired to reiterate its confidence in this type of treaty for the purpose of solving the problem of the reduction of armaments in certain special cases and for certain regions of the world, and passed the following resolution :—

“The Assembly,

“In view of Resolution XV. of the Third Assembly concerning the problem of the reduction of armaments,

“Asks the Council to request the Temporary Mixed Commission to consider the possibility of recommending concurrently with the general scheme for the reduction of armaments, the negotiation of draft partial agreements for the same purpose, to be submitted for examination and decision to the Governments of the States Members of the League which are in a special geographical position, and brought to the notice of States not Members of the League.

“These draft agreements might, should opportunity arise, provide for reductions of armaments still greater than those provided for by the general scheme.”

VII.—RENEWAL OF THE MANDATE OF THE TEMPORARY MIXED COMMISSION.

The Third Committee was called upon to consider the organisation of the work of the League of Nations in connection with the reduction of armaments, and more especially the question of the renewal of the mandate of the Temporary Mixed Commission.

After having discussed the matter, the Committee decided to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :—

“The Temporary Mixed Commission shall be invited to continue for a further period of one year the work which it has undertaken, and to submit its report as early as possible before the meeting of the next Assembly.

“The Assembly is of opinion that it is henceforth the duty of the Council to establish direct co-operation with the Governments with a view to formulating the general plan for the reduction or limitation of armaments which, under Article 8 of the Covenant, must be submitted for the consideration and decision of the several Governments.

“The Assembly requests the Council to regulate and co-ordinate the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission and of the Permanent Advisory Commission, in anticipation of the possible expiration of the Temporary Mixed Commission's mandate at the next Assembly.

“The Assembly, having considered the resolution noted by the Second Assembly in regard to the Disarmament Section of the Secretariat, and taking into account the importance of this organisation, is of the opinion that the Secretariat should be requested to re-establish, when circumstances permit, the special directorship of this section which the Second Assembly recognised as necessary.”

ANNEX VIII.—*General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.*
Rapporteur: M. Cristobal Botella.

Notwithstanding the coming into force on 1st January last of the Financial Regulations of the League of Nations, and the great activity displayed by the Supervisory Commission since the Third Assembly, the Fourth Committee has again this year had a very heavy agenda.

In order to complete its work as rapidly as possible, it therefore decided, at its second meeting, to form four sub-Committees to report on the following questions:—

- (a) Contributions in arrears;
- (b) Gifts of the Armlerder property adjoining the Hôtel National and construction of a Conference Hall;
- (c) Allocation of the expenses for 1924;
- (d) Pensions and cost of living.

The Committee also decided to appoint a general *rapporteur* to draw up a report on the Closed Accounts for the financial year 1922, on the Budget for 1924 and on the various questions raised in the different reports of the Supervisory Commission. Moreover, the chairman of the first three sub-Committees, M. Zahle, Jonkheer van Eysinga and Sir Rennell Rodd, were asked to submit to the Assembly, personally, the reports on the questions laid before their respective sub-Committees, and M. Barboza Carneiro was requested to take charge of the report on Pensions and cost of living.

The Committee desires to thank the members of the four sub-Committees who have greatly facilitated its task by the zeal which they have displayed and by their determination to accomplish speedily the work with which they were entrusted.

I.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Supervisory Commission has held four sessions since the Third Assembly. In addition to examining the accounts and the Budget for 1924, it has dealt with all the varied questions which had been submitted to it by the Assembly, by the Council or by the competent officials of the autonomous organisations.

After a statement by M. Osusky, the distinguished Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, and at his suggestion, the Fourth Committee decided, in conformity with the procedure adopted last year, to proceed to the examination of the different questions on its agenda, utilising the reports of the Supervisory Commission as guide and commentary.

The Chairman of the Fourth Committee expressed to the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission (in the regretted absence of its distinguished and esteemed Chairman, M. Noblenmaire) the warm thanks of the Fourth Committee for all the work which the Supervisory Commission has so efficiently accomplished since the last Assembly. It is largely owing to the accurate and complete documentation provided by the Supervisory Commission that the Fourth Committee has been able to accomplish its work within a relatively short time.

II.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1922.

In consequence of the coming into force of the Financial Regulations of the League, the Fourth Committee has, for the first time since the creation of the League, had to deal with a finance system established on a solid basis and on definite texts, and working smoothly in all its details.

In conformity with the provisions of these Regulations, the Council of the League of Nations at its 23rd session held in January, appointed Commendatore Ceresa, Inspector-General of the Italian Ministry of Finance, to be Auditor of the League of Nations accounts. M. Ceresa, with the assistance of two colleagues, audited, between 14th March and 12th April, the accounts of all the organisations of the League of Nations, and his report, which is annexed to the accounts of the closed fiscal period, contains an admirable statement of the financial situation of the League, in addition to a certain number of suggestions of the greatest value. M. Ceresa was present at the meetings of the Committee and was able to reply in person to certain questions which were addressed to him.

Before entering upon the detailed examination of the audited accounts, the Financial Director of the League of Nations gave a general sketch of the financial organisation of the League. After recalling the decisions of the previous Assemblies in regard to the gold franc, the Working Capital Fund, &c., Sir Herbert Ames pointed out that, in conformity with the Financial Regulations, only two documents dealing with the accounts are now submitted to the examination of the Members of the League, namely, a budget account and a balance sheet.

In a general way, the members of the Committee expressed their satisfaction with the new form of the accounts and with the documents annexed thereto. One member pointed out, however, that, although the new document regarding recoverable advances, unforeseen expenditure and transfers was entirely in conformity with the wishes expressed by the Fourth Committee of the Third Assembly, it would be advisable in future accounts to explain clearly by means of notes those cases in which there appeared to be some divergence between the accounts and the annexed documents; in other cases it would be an advantage if certain details were given in regard to the financial operations which might have been transacted during the course of the financial period concerned. The same speaker asked the Director of the International Labour Office to use the documentation supplied by the Secretariat as a guide in drawing up the Labour Office's reports in regard to accounts.

The Committee heard with interest the Secretary-General's explanatory statement in reply to an observation made by the Auditor, regarding the fact that all the credits for unforeseen expenses should be included under one item. The Supervisory Commission had decided, at its May session, not to modify the decisions of the previous Assemblies to the effect that the unforeseen expenses of each organisation should be met by a separate credit. The advantage of this system is that it is possible to ascertain the exact cost of each of the organisations of the League of Nations.

The Committee also took note of the explanation given by the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission in regard to the International Labour Office's continued use of the commercial system of accountancy as an auxiliary method. It would in fact be difficult to draw up the balance sheet laid down by the Financial Regulations if the governmental system of accountancy alone were employed.

III.—BUDGET.

On several occasions the Committee emphasised that it would be an advantage if the budgets of the autonomous organisations of the League of Nations were made to conform as far as possible to the form adopted by the Secretariat for its budget.

The present report will only indicate the general observations which the Fourth Committee wished to formulate when it examined the budget of the principal organisations of the League. The discussions, in the course of which several useful and important suggestions were made, will be found in the minutes of the Committee and the details of the modifications made in the credits contained in the Budget figure in the table annexed to the present Report (Annex 1).

The Budget, as submitted to the Assembly, amounted to 24,870,570 gold francs; the reductions effected by the Fourth Committee represent 1,771,804 gold francs (1,743,995 francs and 13,350.—florins); on the other hand, the supplementary credits amount in all to 229,920 francs. A net reduction of 1,636,931 gold francs having been effected (including the deduction of the credit balance of the previous financial periods, amounting to 95,050 gold francs), the amount to be allocated now amounts to 23,233,636 gold francs, including a credit of 2,077,774 gold francs in respect of the Working Capital Fund. The budget of *expenditure*, amounting to 21,250,912 gold francs, is reduced by 3,922,596 gold francs, *i.e.*, 15½ per cent., as compared with the budget of expenditure for the 1923 fiscal period.

While the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office have undertaken to continue to pursue a policy of economy and to endeavour to submit to the next Assembly budgets showing, if possible, further reductions which it was not possible to effect this year in the short time available, certain speakers pointed out that they would oppose any reduction likely to hamper the satisfactory working and the essential activities of the League of Nations; they also stated that they reserved the right to propose at a later date an increase in certain credits, or at all events not to oppose such an increase.

Finally, the Fourth Committee is of opinion that the reductions made in the Budget will not adversely affect the essential work of the League of Nations. It is, however, of opinion that it would be difficult to effect further economies without endangering the very existence of the League.

A.—*Budget of the Secretariat.*

Notwithstanding the considerable reductions already effected by the Supervisory Commission, which are shown in its second annual report, the Fourth Committee decided, at the suggestion of the French Delegate, M. Réveillaud, to ask the Supervisory Commission to consider and to submit, as soon as possible, a new programme of important reductions, drawn up in agreement with the Secretary-General.

After dissociating himself from the unjust and sometimes malicious attacks which had recently been made on the League of Nations, the French representative explained that the French Government considered that a serious reduction should be effected in the Budget of the Secretariat; his Government fully appreciated the work of the Supervisory Commission, but considered that last May the latter was not in a position to make sufficiently important reductions, for the good reason that it had no authority to demand them.

The Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General having agreed to the text of the proposal submitted by the French representative, the Committee, by a large majority, adopted the following resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee, considering that, in view of the exceptional financial difficulties with which most of the States are faced, a policy of strict economy and reduction is necessary in all departments of the Secretariat, and particularly in the special organisations of the League:

"Having full confidence that the Secretary-General will assist it in carrying out this policy;

"Entrusts to the Supervisory Commission, at present in session, the duty of considering the question and of submitting as soon as possible a programme of considerable reductions drawn up in agreement with the Secretary-General."

In presenting its report, proposing further economies amounting to more than one and a half million gold francs, the Supervisory Commission submitted the following considerations to the appreciation of the Fourth Committee:—

"(a) It is very difficult to draw up in the month of April a budget for the following year, especially in the case of a new organisation such as the League of Nations, which has to deal with questions subject often to very rapid modifications;

"(b) The financial and executive administration of the League is continually being studied by the Supervisory Commission, but the time which has elapsed between the month of May and the month of September has not been sufficient to justify any modification in the items fixed in May after very careful consideration, except on the following grounds:—

"(1) In several cases it proved possible to make reductions owing to changes in circumstances since the Budget was prepared; in other cases, the experience gained during the last four months showed that reductions could be made without endangering the work, whilst in still other cases it had been found possible to obtain more favourable conditions from contractors.

"(2) In view of the necessity so clearly expressed in the Fourth Committee, the Supervisory Commission thought it advisable, in the case of technical organisations, to postpone certain work the execution of which, although approved either by the Assembly or the Council, did not appear to the Committee to be essential during 1924."

As soon as the report of the Supervisory Commission came before the Fourth Committee, the latter proceeded, in accordance with the method adopted by the first three Assemblies, to a detailed examination of the different articles of the Budget. (*See Annex 1 for details of the reductions effected.*)

In a general way, the Committee was satisfied with the general arrangement. However, one member pointed out that it would perhaps be well, in future Budgets, to arrange differently the chapter concerning special organisations. He pointed out, in particular, that the distinction between the headings A and B was hardly logical, and that certain organisations appearing under the heading "Temporary Organisations" were really more of a permanent character.

Several speakers pointed out the danger of a too rapid development of the technical organisations, whose activity, if extended too far, might exceed the limits fixed by the provisions of the Covenant.

At the request of a member of the Committee, the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission promised to follow closely, in all its aspects, the question of the expenditure of the Library. In the opinion of this member, it would appear desirable to substitute for the American methods a simpler organisation that would make it possible to effect further reductions in the staff.

The Secretary-General promised to consider with the Supervisory Commission the question of the status of the interpreters of the Secretariat. A certain number of members of the Fourth Committee thought that it should be possible for interpreters to be promoted to a higher category.

After a prolonged discussion, the Committee adopted the following resolution regarding the proposal for supplementary credits for the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation:—

"In adopting the supplementary credits, amounting to 14,920 francs, asked to render possible the creation of an International University Information Bureau, the Fourth Committee does not intend to abandon the policy of budgetary reductions which it has been obliged to adopt this year.

"It is therefore understood that, if the Bureau should develop during the next three years (1924 to 1926), the necessary funds should be obtained from private or public contributions, in order that the Budget of the League of Nations should not be increased."

After discussing the estimates of the High Commissariat for Refugees (Russian Section) the Committee adopted the following recommendation:—

"The Fourth Committee requests the Secretary General to address an appeal to the Governments of the countries among which most of the Russian refugees are distributed and where the High Commission has appointed agents, with a view to the establishment of national committees similar to those which have been set up in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, for the purpose of facilitating the task of the High Commission and of enabling its organisation to be reduced."

B.—Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

After the Director had explained the circumstances which had led the Governing Body to submit a greatly reduced Budget, the Committee, after a careful examination, but without making any changes, approved the estimates as submitted to it.

The Committee adopted M. Réveilland's proposal to the effect that the number of chapters in the Budget of the International Labour Organisation should be reduced to four, namely:—

- (1) Sessions of the Conference and of the Governing Body.
- (2) Services of the Secretariat.
- (3) Loss on exchange.
- (4) Capital expenditure.

By this decision the Fourth Committee was able to settle the difference which had appeared between the point of view of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and that of the Supervisory Commission as regards the application to the International Labour Organisation of Article 29 of the Financial Regulations. The members of the Fourth Committee unanimously recognised that the provisions of the Financial Regulations relative to transfers must necessarily be applied to the Labour Organisation, whose Budget could not be considered as a single chapter of the general Budget of the League of Nations. The adoption by the Committee of M. Réveilland's proposal would, in fact, enable the Governing Body to meet all contingencies, since, in the future, the majority of the items, including the one concerning Unforeseen Expenditure, would be included in the second chapter of the Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

C.—Budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Supervisory Commission noted a statement by the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice (whose Budget also is reduced as compared with that for 1923) undertaking to consider whether reductions might not be made in the salaries paid to the temporary staff.

As regards the contribution to the Carnegie Foundation, the Committee noted that the Foundation accepted a reduction of 20 per cent. for 1924. At the end of this period, exact figures as to the expenditure actually incurred will be submitted, and the League of Nations will be asked to pay the amount arrived at, even if it should exceed 40,000 florins, the new total inserted in the Budget for 1924.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

(a) The Committee took note of a suggestion made by the eminent British Delegate to the effect that the Supervisory Commission might be authorised, if necessary, to avail itself of the services of specialists on financial or administrative questions.

(b) The Committee asked the competent officials of the autonomous organisations to prepare in future, as they had done this year, a statement of new work involving the League of Nations in new expenditure. One of its members, however, was of the opinion that it would be desirable in future, in order to give full effect to the resolution of the Third Assembly, to inform the Assembly not only of new work which might involve expenditure, but also of new work not involving immediate expenditure, or work which might lead to expenditure in the future, even though for the present it was not of a nature to entail expenditure.

(c) The Committee took note of the statement prepared by the Secretary-General with regard to the financial situation of the League.

(d) The Committee decided to recommend that the Supervisory Commission should examine the question of the documents to be included in the *Official Journal*. It appeared, indeed, to one of its members that it was important that the *Journal* should contain all important documents.

(e) The Committee decided to refer to the Sub-Committee on Allocation of Expenses, for consideration and report, a proposal to grant partial and temporary relief to Japan in respect of her contribution to the League.

The Committee unanimously agreed that the frightful catastrophe so deeply regretted by the whole world, which had just befallen that great country, should necessarily be followed, in accordance with the principle laid down by the last Assembly, by a temporary reduction of its contributions to the Budget of the League of Nations. The proposal subsequently adopted by the Committee is given in the report on the Allocation of Expenses for 1924.

(f) After careful examination, the Committee adopted, upon the Report of the Supervisory Commission, a certain number of amendments to the Financial Regulations. (See Annex 2.)

(g) The Committee adopted the recommendations of the Supervisory Commission regarding the institution of a Salaries Adjustment Committee to determine the variations to be made in the salaries of the Registry of the Court, as well as the creation in the Secretariat of an intermediary class, the salaries of which would be smaller than those paid to Members of Section, Class B.

(h) On the proposal of M. Barboza-Carneiro, the Committee adopted the following recommendation:—

“The Fourth Committee, considering that every effort should be made with a view to keeping down expenses, invites the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office to examine the possibility of obtaining from the competent authorities a reduction in postal and telegraph rates for official letters and parcels of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

“They are also requested by the Committee to open negotiations with transport companies, both by land and by sea, in order to obtain reduced rates for the officials of the League as well as for the persons travelling on official business in connection with the League. The Committee expresses the desire that a report should be made to the Fifth Assembly on the action taken as a result of this proposal.”

(i) The financial position of the League of Nations was considered in a number of useful and instructive debates. The Fourth Committee was glad to note that the cash in hand was greater this year than at the same time last year, and that in general the contributions of the Members of the League had been paid more promptly and more regularly than in 1922. This improvement may be largely attributed to the new scale adopted by the Third Assembly.

Although progress has been made, the situation is far from being entirely satisfactory; the scale of allocation is not definitive as long as the financial position of the League of Nations may present difficulties. Again, since the Budget has been considerably reduced, it will not be easy to effect economies during the course of 1924 in order to cover the deficits due to delays in the payment of contributions by the Members of the League. While it may be anticipated that the League will have a considerable cash surplus at the beginning of 1924, it is probable that the situation will again be less favourable at the end of the year and especially at the beginning of 1925.

It is for this reason that, at the unanimous request of the Supervisory Commission, and in spite of the desire expressed by several members of the Fourth Committee to strike out altogether the credit for a new contribution to the Working Capital Fund in the 1924 Budget, the Fourth Committee has decided to insert in the 1924 Budget a large sum as a definitive contribution to the Working Capital Fund.

(k) This Report of the Fourth Committee would not be complete if it did not express the unanimous thanks of the Committee to its distinguished Chairman, as well as to its Vice-Chairman, M. Adatci.

If the Committee has been able to complete its work in a relatively small number of meetings, this success is largely due to the persuasive firmness, ability and zeal of M. Nintchitch.

In conclusion, the Fourth Committee wishes to express its appreciation of the admirable manner in which the high officials of the Secretariat, and especially the Secretary-General, have aided it in its work.

Since the First Assembly, the Members of the Fourth Committee have learned to know the engaging personality of Sir Eric Drummond, and all the delegates who are constantly in close relations with him are aware of the zeal, intelligence and ability with which he discharges the difficult duties entrusted to him. By co-operating loyally with the Supervisory Commission and with the Fourth Committee in effecting economies, he has greatly facilitated our task, and the Committee is profoundly grateful to him.

The Committee also wishes to express its gratitude to M. Albert Thomas and to his devoted colleagues. In adopting the Budget of the International Labour Organisation in the form in which it was presented by the Governing Body and the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee desires to express the hope that the large reductions which have already been made in it will not be such as to affect adversely the valuable work which was assigned to the Office under the Treaties, and the great importance of which the Fourth Committee would be the first to recognise.

The estimates of the Permanent Court of International Justice were presented to the Committee by the Registrar of the Court, M. Hammarskjöld; the Committee could hardly avoid referring to the zeal and the ability of this official of the League.

The Fourth Committee further wishes to express its thanks to the very able Financial Director of the League of Nations, and his assistants, and also to the various officials, secretaries, interpreters, translators and stenographers who, by their zeal and readiness, have enabled it to complete its work so rapidly.

ANNEX I.

AMENDMENTS TO THE BUDGET ESTIMATES INTRODUCED OR APPROVED BY THE
FOURTH COMMITTEE.

I.—SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE LEAGUE

(including supplementary estimates.)

	Reductions.	Increases.
	Frs.	Frs.
1. Sessions of the Assembly - - - - -	109,500	—
3a. Salaries of Secretariat at Geneva - - - - -	97,568	—
3b. House Staff at Geneva - - - - -	3,215	—
4. Latin-American Liaison Office - - - - -	1,924	—
6. Frais de Representation - - - - -	26,540	—
8. Publications Department - - - - -	78,750	—
11a. Interest Charges :		
Bank Account (net) - - - - -	30,000	—
13. Unpaid Liabilities Fund - - - - -	35,000	—
15. Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions - - - - -	35,786	—
16. Economic and Financial Organisation - - - - -	314,924	—
17. Mandates - - - - -	2,607	—
18. Transit Organisation - - - - -	89,995	—
19. International Health Organisation - - - - -	59,026	—
20. Social Questions : Traffic in Women and Children, Supervision of Opium Traffic, &c. - - - - -	3,954	90,000
21. Reduction of Armaments :		
(a) Permanent Organisation - - - - -	44,506	—
(b) Temporary Organisation - - - - -	51,200	—
22. International Blockade Committee - - - - -	50,000	—
23. Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in certain territories in the Near East - - - - -	—	75,000
24. International Bureaux and Committee on Intellectual Co-operation - - - - -	12,000	14,920
25. High Commissariat for Refugees (Greek Section) - - - - -	—	50,000
27. Loss on Exchange - - - - -	100,000	—
Total increase - - - - -	—	229,920
Total reduction - - - - -	1,146,495	—
Net reduction - - - - -	916,575	—

II.—INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

Chapter.			
II.	3a. Salaries : Reduction due to fall in cost of living - - - - -	110,000	—
	Appropriation in aid : Receipts from sale of publications - - - - -	45,000	—
	Net reduction - - - - -	155,000	—

III.—PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Chapter.		Florins.	
III.	16c. Overtime pay - - - - -	1,850	—
	18b. Overtime pay - - - - -	1,000	—
IV.	25b. Journey to native country - - - - -	500	—
V.	27. Contribution to the Carnegie Foundation - - - - -	10,000	—
	Net reduction - - - - -	13,350	—
	In francs - - - - -	27,809	—

IV.—WORKING CAPITAL FUND.

Chapter.			
	I.—Definitive contribution to the Working Capital Fund - - - - -	442,500	—
	Net reduction - - - - -	442,500	—

SUMMARY.

I.—Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League - - - - -	229,920	1,146,495
II.—International Labour Organisation - - - - -	—	155,000
III.—Permanent Court of International Justice - - - - -	—	27,809
IV.—Working Capital Fund - - - - -	—	442,500

	Frs.	
Total reduction - - - - -	1,771,804	
Total increase - - - - -	229,920	
Net reduction - - - - -	1,541,884	
Original budget - - - - -	24,870,570.41	
Budget adopted by the Fourth Committee - - - - -	23,328,686.41	
Deduct :		
Surplus from previous financial periods - - - - -	95,030.71	
Amount to be allocated between the Members of the League	23,233,635.70	

ANNEX 2.

AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS FOR THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, PROPOSED BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE AND ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY.

(The amendments have been incorporated in the Regulations printed on page 42 *et seq.*)

Article 1.—Add the following new clause to para. 2 of Article 1 :—

"The Council shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting."

Article 3.—Amend the first clause of this Article to read as follows :—

"The Commission shall hold its sessions at Geneva, or, exceptionally and subject to the condition that greater expenditure will not be incurred at such other place as may be decided by a vote of its members."

Article 6.—Amend to read as follows :—

"All organisations of the League, autonomous and non-autonomous, and all temporary organisations hereafter created under the auspices of the League, whether their expenditure is or is not, in whole or in part, met out of the votes of the Assembly, shall comply with these regulations and with every decision of the Assembly governing financial and budgetary administration."

Article 16.—Add the following new paragraphs :—

"5. A short session of the Supervisory Commission shall be held each year during the meeting of the Assembly.

"6. It shall be the duty of the Commission at this session to examine all amendments to the budget.

"7. The estimates in their final form shall be considered and reported upon by the Supervisory Commission before their submission to the Financial Committee of the Assembly."

Article 19.—Add the following new paragraph 3 :—

"(3) In the cases contemplated by sub-para. (b) and (c) of para. 2, before the proposed credits are considered by the Finance Committee they shall be submitted to the Supervisory Commission, which shall report thereon. The Supervisory Commission shall in the first place consider whether a proposal for additional expenditure can be adopted or whether it would not be advisable to postpone such expenditure."

Article 23.—Amend as follows :—

"Receipts other than contributions payable by Governments, such as receipts from the sale of publications and other miscellaneous sources, and interest, shall, as far as possible, be estimated in advance and be deducted, as appropriations in aid, from the estimates put forward in the budget.

"A summary of such receipts, if any, arising under each part of the budget shall be set out as an appendix to the part under which they arise."

New Article 23 (b) :—

"1. Gifts which may directly or indirectly involve an immediate or ultimate financial liability for the Members of the League may only be accepted after authorisation by the Assembly.

"2. Gifts not involving any financial liability for the Members of the League may be accepted by the Council or, where offered to an autonomous organisation, by the competent authority of the organisation, if the Council or the authority is satisfied that acceptance will not undesirably affect the general character of the League or the special organisation in question, and is in accordance with the general policy which should be pursued."

Article 29.—Add following new para. 2 :—

"2. Except as provided in Article 33, no transfer other than those mentioned in para. (1) above shall be made."

Article 30.—Amend the first paragraph to read as follows :—

"1. Payments in respect of transactions for which provision is made in the budget of the particular year, and which take place before 31st December of that year, may be charged to the accounts of that year if they are made not later than 15th February of the following year."

Article 31.—Amend para. 2 as follows :—

"2. The sums paid by Members of the League since 10th January 1920, for the purpose of constituting or augmenting the Working Capital Fund shall be carried to the credit of the Members which have paid such sums.

"3. The Assembly may liberate all or part of the sums constituting the Working Capital Fund, and the sums so liberated shall be returned to the Members which have contributed to the Fund in proportion to their respective contributions.

"4. Subject to a decision of the Assembly, the States which for any reason cease to be Members of the League shall be entitled to the reimbursement of the total amount of their contributions to the Working Capital Fund.

"5. Members joining the League after 15th November 1920 are entitled to increase their contributions to the Working Capital Fund or to contribute thereto in the proportion of payments made by other Members, even if the Working Capital Fund reaches the maximum limit fixed for it. This provision shall be communicated by the Secretary-General to all the Members which entered the League after 15th November 1920."

Article 33.—Add the following new para. 4 :—

"4. Sums drawn from the Working Capital Fund by way of recoverable advances under the terms of para. (2) above, but which the Council subsequently decides cannot, in fact, be recovered, shall be repaid to the Fund, either by means of a transfer approved by the Council from some other part of the Budget for the current year or by means of a specific vote for the purpose in the Budget for the year following that in which they were declared by the Council to be irrecoverable."

Article 36.—Add the following new para. 3 :—

"3. There shall be attached to the accounts with annexes : a memorandum showing for the past financial year the resolutions of the Council with reference to : (a) any recoverable advances made from the Working Capital Fund; (b) any advances originally thought to be recoverable and ultimately considered by the Council to be irrecoverable; and of the competent authority with reference to; (c) any expenses borne on a vote for unforeseen expenses incurable only by special resolution of a competent authority; (d) any transfers made in the Budget."

New Article 38 (a) :—

"The difference between the actual receipts and the expenditure for each completed financial year shall be entered in the Budget of the second year following. If the difference constitutes a credit balance, it shall be used to effect a corresponding reduction of the sum to be collected from the Members of the League by way of contribution for the year in the Budget of which it is entered; if the difference represents a deficit, the sum to be contributed by Members of the League for such year shall be increased by the amount of the deficit."

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee on the Question of Contributions still unpaid. (Rapporteur: M. Herluf Zahle.)*

The Fourth Committee instructed a sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid contributions for all financial periods of the League previous to 31st December 1922. This sub-Committee consisted of—

M. Herluf Zahle (Denmark).

Sir Neville R. Howse (Australia).

M. Cristobal Botella (Spain).

M. Raoul M. Amador (Panama).

H.H. Prince Charoon (Siam).

M. Jonas Eliel Lofgren (Sweden).

M. Herluf Zahle was appointed Chairman and *Rapporteur*.

The sub-Committee submitted a report to the Committee. The Committee accepted this report and suggested that it should be adopted by the Assembly.

In view of the fact that the delicate question of contributions in arrears could not be settled without the friendly assistance of the delegations of those countries the payment of whose contributions is in arrears, the sub-Committee ventured to apply to each of those delegations, requesting it to appoint a representative to inform the sub-Committee of the reasons for the delay. The Committee desires to thank the various delegations for the readiness with which they responded to this request.

The countries whose contributions are in arrears may be classified in three distinct groups. The first group consists of States which base their claim to be released from the obligations to pay their arrears on grounds of law or equity. The second group consists of countries whose exceptional position necessitates a reduction in the sums still outstanding. The last group includes States whose payment of contributions has been delayed by more or less serious temporary financial difficulties, or by differences due to the rate of exchange, but whose position did not call for any reduction in the amount of their arrears.

After careful consideration of the reasons brought forward by the States in the first group, the Committee decided that it was undesirable to press for the payment of the arrears due by them. As regards countries in the second group, the Third Assembly requested the Secretary-General to propose that the Supervisory Commission should put forward the solution which appeared best suited to the exceptional position of such countries. The solution proposed by the Secretary-General consisted in applying the reduced 1923 scale to the arrears of these States, the payments to be spread out over a number of years. The Committee approved this proposal and also the extension of the arrangement so as to include Paraguay and Austria. The representatives of the majority of the States belonging to the last group pointed out that their countries intended to discharge their obligations to the League of Nations as soon as possible.

The Committee desires to point out that the arrangements which it recommended are in conformity with the proposal adopted by the Third Assembly in regard to this matter. Moreover, it is certainly necessary, if the finances of the League are to be restored to a healthy condition, that sums which are clearly uncollectable should be withdrawn from the balance sheet of the League, since it can only convey a false idea of the financial position of the League to consider, as part of the assets, amounts which will never be recovered.

The Committee therefore recommends that the sums mentioned below should be struck out of the accounts of the League :—

	Total payable on 1st Sept. 1923.	Total after pro- posed reduction of sums owing.	Loss to the League.
	Gold Francs.	Gold Francs.	Gold Francs.
Salvador - -	314,352.34	60,850.—	283,502.34
Nicaragua - -	309,120.—	55,326.58	253,793.42
Honduras - -	309,120.—	55,326.58	253,793.42
Guatemala - -	309,120.—	25,618.—	283,502.—
Costa Rica - -	246,360.—	44,622.81	201,737.19
Paraguay - -	309,120.—	25,618.—	283,502.—
Austria - -	396,335.76	30,359.—	365,976.76
South Africa - -	1,286,642.23	607,695.23	678,947.—
Poland - -	404,534.—	—	404,534.—
	3,914,704.33	905,416.20	3,009,299.13

The sub-Committee is of opinion that the Supervisory Commission and the Auditor should be left to select the best method of entering in the books of the League, the successive sums to be collected out of the amounts due after the proposed reduction of arrears.

ANNEX X.—*Report of the Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee on the Allocation of Expenses of the League. (Rapporteur: Sir Rennell Rodd.)*

In accordance with the practice adopted in previous years, the Fourth Committee of the Assembly appointed a sub-Committee to consider the question of the allocation of the League's expenses.

The first duty imposed upon the sub-Committee was to consider applications which had been received from more than one group of delegates, who were dissatisfied with the allocation of their country under the provisional scale adopted by the Third Assembly, to be allowed to send a representative to take part in the deliberations of the sub-Committee. Its members were unanimously of opinion that such a request, which would have to be referred to the Fourth Committee in a plenary meeting, should not be pressed. If it were entertained it would be difficult to refuse the same privilege to other Delegations which might prefer similar requests, and the sub-Committee would be in danger of losing its essential character. There were also certain questions which might have to be discussed with a sub-Committee of the First Committee. It was desirable, therefore, to preserve parity of numbers between the two sub-Committees, which would both consist of six members. All Delegations, however, which desired to place their views before the sub-Committee would, on their expressing a desire to be heard, be invited to depute a member of their Delegation for the purpose. In view of these arguments and assurances, the States in question did not press their application.

The sub-Committee then proceeded to discuss the report of the Allocation Committee (A. 23, 1923, II.). M. Réveillaud, who had presided over its deliberations, was invited to attend and offer any further observations which might be of assistance. He emphasised the reasons which had made it impossible up to the present time to submit a proposal for a definite scheme and these appeared to your sub-Committee to be convincing. A unanimous decision was taken: (a) to recommend the report of the Allocation Committee for approval by the Fourth Committee; (b) to recommend that the provisional scale adopted by the Third Assembly should be maintained for another year, modifications therein being only entertained in special cases of absolute necessity; and (c) to recommend that the Allocation Committee should continue its work with a view to establishing a definite scale. It must be emphasised that, so long as the definitive scale is not established, the difficulties which the sub-Committee experienced this year will continue to present themselves.

The Allocation Committee had also given unofficial consideration to the number of units which should properly be assigned to the Irish Free State, in the event of its joining the League of Nations. Following the principles hitherto observed in determining such questions, the Allocation Committee had expressed the opinion that the contribution would equitably be represented by 10 units. It was submitted that these 10 units, which had hitherto been included in the 95 assigned to the British Empire, should equitably be deducted from those 95, which would then be reduced to 85. At the same time, as the entry of the Irish Free State would entail certain new obligations on the League which might be estimated in terms of three units, it was recommended that only seven and not 10 units should be deducted from the total of the British Empire. These suggestions were approved by the sub-Committee.

The Delegates of the Irish Free State were invited to attend and offer any comments they might have to make on the amount of their assessment. They cordially expressed their readiness to accept the suggested provisional allocation, which the sub-Committee recommended for adoption.

The sub-Committee further recommended that, should Abyssinia and the Hedjaz become members of the League, their units should be two and one respectively.

The sub-Committee then discussed with representatives of the First Committee appointed for the purpose, M. Limburg and Baron Marks von Würtemberg, the actual juridical aspect of the allocation of the expenses of the League. The Second Assembly had decided to amend the final paragraph of the Covenant, which applies the scale of the Universal Postal Union, and to replace it by a paragraph to the following effect: "The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly."

This amendment has received the ratification of a majority of the States Members, but it also requires, in order to come into effect, the ratification of all the States which are represented on the Council. The ratification of one of these is still wanting and it can hardly now be anticipated that it will be received during the present session of the Assembly.

In default of such ratification, it is necessary to continue the system adopted last year of a provisional scale accepted by common consent in a unanimous vote of the Assembly. It may be contended that this system has no juridical value. But it offers the only means of escaping from the application of the scale of the Universal Postal Union, which has been shown to entail manifest injustices.

If and when the ratification of the amendment to Article 6 is completed, the Assembly will fix a scale of allotment, which will then have juridical value. Unanimity will, however, still be necessary for its acceptance, as there is no provision for modifying in decisions of this nature the necessity for unanimity, which is required by Article 5 of the Covenant.

The establishment of a provisional scale for 1924 was not in the terms of reference of the Allocation Committee, and it would therefore seem that it was assumed that the provisional scale for 1923, as it had been amended, would be maintained until a definite scale had been approved.

The sub-Committee studied the representations made both in writing and orally by delegates of the relatively small number of States which had appealed against the allocation assigned to them for 1923. They were five in number.

The position adopted by Persia is somewhat different from that of the other Delegations who have advanced claims for reductions and therefore demands special mention. The scale of Persia was reduced for 1923 from 10 units, at which it had originally been fixed, to six. The Persian Delegate represented that the value of these six units (163,179 gold francs in 1923) exceeded the amount which the Persian

Parliament had voted and was prepared to vote again, namely, 125,000 gold francs. This they regarded as a maximum. The fact that the money value of the unit varied every year and could not be ascertained until the budget was established had not shaken the decision to limit the Persian contribution to that maximum. He had consequently at the last Assembly refrained from voting in favour of the provisional scale, but had not stood in the way of its acceptance by directly opposing it. It would only be possible, by reducing still further the number of units assigned to Persia, to bring her contribution within the maximum sum which, as the sub-Committee understood, the Persian Government regards as having been laid down when she entered the League of Nations.

The sub-Committee was unanimously of the opinion that it would be very dangerous to admit as a precedent the principle that any State entering the League should establish a maximum amount for its own contribution without regard to the inevitable variability of the unit from year to year. The question of whether, in spite of the reduction of units from 10 to six, the allocation of Persia was still too high might be referred to the Allocation Committee for consideration, but the sub-Committee did not feel able to recommend any reduction in the present assessment on the plea which had been advanced.

The other representations which the sub-Committee had to consider were made by the Delegations of India, Greece, Hungary and Roumania, in some cases on account of assessments regarded as unduly high and in others because of exceptional circumstances justifying a plea for reduction. In certain instances the sub-Committee was of opinion that a good case had been made out for some reduction in the number of units assigned. The members were, however, extremely reluctant to recommend any modifications in the provisional scale, which had been approved by the Third Assembly. They had reason to believe that if the principle of modification were admitted for 1924 other Delegations might also advance claims and that they had only refrained from doing so on the assumption that the existing scale would be maintained for another year. There were only two ways in which reductions could be contemplated:—

- (a) Reductions could be made in favour of certain countries by corresponding increases to the disadvantage of others.
- (b) Reductions could be made with the units available consequently on the entry of new members to the League, either in favour of specific countries, or in an all-round diminution of the value of the unit.

The first method would encounter manifest difficulties and probably considerable opposition. It was, moreover, rather for the Allocation Committee in the first instance, after due study, to make proposals for any such readjustment. That body was not in session, and in any case it would hardly be possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion during the brief period for which the Assembly would still be sitting.

The sub-Committee therefore unanimously decided to recommend that, with one exception in a case already decided by the Fourth Committee and referred to hereafter, no modification should be adopted for 1924 in the provisional scale agreed to by the Third Assembly. At the same time the various pleas for reductions which have been advanced should be referred to the Allocation Committee for a report and for possible eventual readjustments in the provisional scale, if it should prove to be impossible to prepare a definite scale for submission to the Fifth Assembly.

While the sub-Committee, after due consideration, had little doubt that this was the safest line to follow, it felt bound to submit to the Fourth Committee that an alternative course was possible and that the extra units now accruing to the League through the accession of new members might be utilised to give some satisfaction to the most urgent claims for relief. Unfortunately, at the moment of preparing this report, the question of the admission of Abyssinia and the Hedjaz to the League has not been finally determined, and it is not certain whether more than three units (those resulting from the entrance of the Irish Free State) will be available for the purpose. The sub-Committee considered that Roumania had made out the strongest case for reduction, and if the available units were to be so utilised, Roumania should therefore benefit to the extent of two. The third should, in the opinion of the sub-Committee, be utilised provisionally to diminish the contribution of Greece, in view of her having upwards of a million refugees to provide for. Should any further units become available, these the sub-Committee considered might possibly be distributed in the same ratio.

The allocation of Japan forms an exception to the general recommendation of the sub-Committee to maintain the provisional scale unaltered for the year 1924. It has already been unanimously decided by the Fourth Committee to submit to the Assembly a sensible reduction in the contribution of Japan to the expenses of the League as a mark of sympathy of all the States Members in the overwhelming catastrophe which has overtaken her. The sub-Committee was directed to consider the best means of giving execution to that resolution.

The sub-Committee accordingly recommended unanimously that the number of units assigned to Japan should temporarily be reduced by 12, from 73 to 61. This will place Japan in a position similar to that of Italy after the reduction accorded her on account of the devastations of war. It is proposed that these 12 units shall be deducted from the total number. This deduction will entail an increase of slightly over 1 per cent. in the contribution of every Member of the League.

The sub-Committee proposed that, in the case of the Argentine, the precedent adopted in 1923 should be followed and that 35 units should be maintained and entered as the proper allocation under the provisional scale for 1924, but that these units should not be counted in the total on which the contribution of the Member States is assessed.

After full consideration of the report of the sub-Committee and after hearing representations made by certain delegates that the allocation of the countries which they represented was unduly high, the Fourth Committee decided to adopt the alternative proposal referred to above. It recommends, therefore, that the extra units accruing to the League from the adhesion of new Members should be utilised to give satisfaction to the most urgent claims for relief and that the distribution of these extra units should be left to the Allocation Committee.

SCALE FOR THE ALLOCATION OF THE EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE YEAR 1924.

States.	Units.	States.	Units.
Abyssinia - - -	2	Japan - - -	73 - 12 = 61
Albania - - -	1	Latvia - - -	5 - 2 = 3
Argentina - - -	(35)	Liberia - - -	1
Australia - - -	26	Lithuania - - -	5 - 1 = 4
Austria - - -	1	Luxemburg - - -	1
Belgium - - -	20 - 5 = 15	Netherlands - - -	20
Bolivia - - -	5	New Zealand - - -	10
Brazil - - -	35	Nicaragua - - -	1
British Empire - - -	95 - 7 = 88	Norway - - -	11
Bulgaria - - -	7	Panama - - -	1
Canada - - -	35	Paraguay - - -	1
Chile - - -	15	Persia - - -	10 - 4 = 6
China - - -	65	Peru - - -	10
Colombia - - -	7	Poland - - -	25
Costa Rica - - -	1	Portugal - - -	10
Cuba - - -	9	Roumania - - -	40 - 9 = 31
Czechoslovakia - - -	35	Salvador - - -	1
Denmark - - -	12	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. 35 - 9 = 26	
Estonia - - -	5 - 2 = 3	Siam - - -	10
Finland - - -	10	South Africa - - -	15
France - - -	95 - 17 = 78	Spain - - -	40
Greece - - -	10	Sweden - - -	18
Guatemala - - -	1	Switzerland - - -	15
Haiti - - -	2	Uruguay - - -	7
Honduras - - -	1	Venezuela - - -	5
Hungary - - -	4		
India - - -	65		
Ireland - - -	10		
Italy - - -	73 - 12 = 61	Total - - -	932

(Difference 5).

These five units, resulting from the accession of new Members, viz., the Irish Free State and Abyssinia, will be divided in accordance with the terms of the above resolution by the Allocation Committee.

ANNEX XI.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on Cost of Living at Geneva, Salaries and Pensions.* (Rapporteur: M. J. A. Barboza-Carneiro.)

When the Second Assembly adopted certain resolutions, in 1921, regarding the organisation of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, it left to a subsequent Assembly the duty of revising one of the provisions with regard to the salaries of officials and of meeting one of the latter's desires.

The Second Assembly desired the salaries of officials to be determined partly by the cost of the necessities of life in Geneva. For this purpose, it decided that the salaries should be divided into two portions, the one fixed and the other variable. But, while establishing this principle and even laying down the suggested percentage which was to constitute the variable portion, the Assembly strongly recommended a further examination of the way in which the principle should be applied. It was with this object in view that the Salaries Adjustment Committee, in consequence of the decision reached by the Second Assembly, undertook a thorough examination of the question. This Committee made a very complete enquiry among the staff and submitted its conclusions to the Supervisory Commission. The latter, in its turn, carried out a very detailed study of the whole question.

The Fourth Committee examined the results of the enquiries carried out by these bodies and instructed a sub-Committee* to present a report on the provisions which should be adopted.

It also instructed the sub-Committee to express its opinion as to the way in which the legitimate desire of the staff, to which I have already referred, should be carried into effect—i.e., the establishment of a Pensions Fund.

It is therefore with regard to these two points that I have the honour to submit to you a certain number of resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee.

COST OF LIVING IN GENEVA.

Variable Portion of the Salaries.

1. The fundamental question which had to be considered was that of the data which would enable the variations which had occurred in the cost of living to be determined. The Fourth Committee agreed with the opinion of the Supervisory Commission in considering that the various items of expenditure used to estimate the cost of living should include food, heating and light, rent and domestic service. The Committee adopted the following weights:—

Food - - -	6.5	Heat and lighting - - -	1
Rent - - -	3	Domestic service - - -	1

2. The Committee has adopted the figures published by the Swiss Federal Government for calculating the variations in the price of food, heat and lighting. Since no official statistics of rent nor

* The sub-Committee was composed as follows: Sir James Allen (New Zealand), Chairman; M. Barboza-Carneiro (Brazil); M. Buero (Uruguay); M. Giuriati (Italy); M. Petresco-Commene (Roumania); Sir Rennell Rodd (Great Britain); M. Réveillaud (France).

of servants' wages exist, the Committee had to content itself with the information obtained by means of the enquiry mentioned above, as well as the information furnished by the Société des Intérêts immobiliers, the Chambre de Travail and by various employment agencies in Geneva.

3. As the salaries were revised and determined by the Second Assembly, the Committee adopted as the basic period of its calculations the average of the last six months of the year 1921, the index number for this basic period being fixed at 100.*

4. The Committee recommends that the question of the reductions or increases of salaries shall be examined once a year, and that the year shall be regarded as ending on 31st July.

5. The average of each year shall be compared with the basic figure in order to calculate the increase or the decrease in the cost of living.

6. The Committee recommends that no change shall be made in salaries as long as the increase or decrease does not reach 10 per cent. of the index which caused a change in the salaries.†

7. The Committee has ascertained that there has been a decrease for food, coal and lighting, but that there has been no decrease in rent or in the wages of domestic servants. The average decrease for the four items is 13·2 per cent.

8. The Committee is of the opinion that this decrease permits a reduction 13 per cent. of the variable portion of the salaries of all the officials appointed according to the resolutions of the Second Assembly, that is to say, those who have a contract in which it is stated that the salary is composed of two parts, one fixed, the other variable, the latter subject to changes in accordance with the cost of living in Geneva.

9. The Committee proposes to fix the percentage of that portion of the salary which is to be considered variable at the same figure in the case of all established officials (*au titre international*). It considers that this portion should be 20 per cent. The percentage reduction or increase on variable salaries shall be calculated on the original variable salary and not on the variable salaries on which reductions have already been made.‡

10. The Committee is of opinion that the scale of annual increments (Annex 1 of the Staff Regulations of 1st June 1922) should not be changed, but that the increment once received becomes part of the salary, and is divided like the total salary into a fixed and variable portion, and that the variable portion is subject to revision in accordance with the cost of living. It recommends, in order to facilitate calculations, that the Secretariat and the International Labour Office should draw up a complete table, showing the fixed portion and the variable portion for all the different salaries. This table should be accompanied by an explanatory note.

11. The Committee is of the opinion that the maximum provided for in the table of Annex 1 of the Staff Regulations is dependent upon the cost of living, that is to say, that, in its opinion, this maximum was established on the hypothesis that the prices of 1921 would be maintained; if the variable portion is reduced or increased, this maximum should be correspondingly reduced or increased.

12. The Committee proposes that the decrease of 13 per cent. on the variable portion should come into force from 1st January 1924.

13. The Committee considers that all increments shall be liable to decrease as regards the variable portion from the date of their coming into force only.

14. The Committee has considered the case of the salaries in pounds sterling of certain high officials. It recognises that the salaries of these officials can only be divided into a fixed and a variable portion with their consent.

15. The Fourth Committee has learnt with great satisfaction that Sir Eric Drummond, who is legally exempt from all decrease of his salary, has, on his own initiative, agreed to consider 10 per cent. of his salary as a variable portion, and subject, therefore, to possible decrease.

16. Sir Eric Drummond's fine example has been followed by all other high officials, who have agreed to consider 10 per cent. of their salaries as a variable portion.

17. The Committee has further learnt with great satisfaction that the Director of the International Labour Office, as well as the Deputy Director, although appointed by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, in conformity with Articles 394 and 395 of the Treaty of Versailles, have agreed to consider 10 per cent. of their salaries as a variable portion.

18. The Committee proposes, therefore, a decrease of 13 per cent. on the variable portion of the salaries of the Secretary-General, of all the high officials who have recognised the principle of a variable portion, and also on the variable portions of the salaries of the Director and Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, this being in conformity with paras. 13, 14, 15 and 16 above.

19. The Fourth Committee expresses its thanks to the Secretary-General, the Director of the International Labour Office, and all the high officials who have consented to a proportion of their salary being considered as variable. The Committee proposes that the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office be invited to continue negotiations with officials who were appointed under special conditions, or who have not yet had the opportunity of agreeing to the principle of a variable portion of their salaries, in order to obtain a solution in the sense indicated in the five foregoing paragraphs.

20. The Fourth Committee considers that by reason of the decrease in the cost of living the salaries of the locally recruited staff should be reduced.

This reduction should be effected by taking as the basis the reduction contemplated in the salaries of municipal, cantonal, and federal officials in Geneva. It therefore considers that it would be equitable to make a general reduction of 3½ per cent.

* Sir James Allen declared that he was unable to accept this last point.

† Thus prices have fallen 13 per cent. since the basic period. The index for 1923 is therefore 87, and this index will form the basis for subsequent calculation. Ten per cent. of 87 = 8·7, therefore if prices rise to 87 + 8·7 = 95·7 or fall to 87 - 8·7 = 78·3, a further revision will have to take place.

‡ Let us therefore suppose a fresh reduction of 11 per cent. with reference to the year 1921 (100), the variable portion of the salary will be decreased by 11 per cent. on the initial total.

Salaries below 3,000 francs a year should receive special consideration.

The Committee proposes that these modifications should be carried into effect immediately. They must, however, be subject to the results of a thorough examination of all the aspects of the question, and especially the problem of classifying the staff in conformity with the second paragraph of this Article. The Supervisory Commission is requested to present a report on this subject as soon as possible to the Secretary-General and to the Director of the International Labour Office.

21. The Fourth Committee proposes that the Assembly should request the Supervisory Commission to undertake, in consultation with the competent officials, a revision of the texts of the various contracts, in such a manner as to remove any doubts as to their legal interpretation.

22. The Fourth Committee proposes that the question of the salaries of the officials of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as well as of the officials employed in the London and Paris offices and elsewhere, should be considered by the Supervisory Commission. The latter should take as its guide the principles contained in this report. Any modifications which may be decided upon should come into force on 1st January 1924.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A PENSIONS FUND FOR THE OFFICIALS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

As the time of the sub-Committee has been very largely occupied in investigating the difficult question of the cost of living in Geneva, it has not been able to consider the details of the very important question of the establishment of a Pensions Fund for officials of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office. It is, however, of opinion that the settlement of this question, which is a matter of special interest to the staff, can no longer be deferred. It has noted the fact that the Supervisory Commission has thoroughly investigated the matter and has considered the views of various actuaries, in particular those of Sir Alfred Watson, British Government Actuary, and Commendatore Toja, Actuary of the National Insurance Institute at Rome. The Fourth Committee concurs in the opinion of the sub-Committee, according to which the Assembly should adopt a decision on the principle involved and leave the Supervisory Commission free to prepare the final detailed regulations of the scheme. I accordingly have the honour to submit to you the following resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee approves of the creation of a compulsory provident fund in the form proposed by the two actuaries and the Supervisory Commission. The scheme in question should come into force as from 1st January 1924.

"It proposes that the Supervisory Commission should be authorised to draw up the final detailed regulations of the scheme and that the annexed memorandum prepared by Sir James Allen should be communicated to the Supervisory Commission for its consideration.

"It proposes that the liabilities imposed on the League budget in consequence of this scheme should not exceed 5 per cent. of the total salaries of the officials to whom the pension scheme will apply."

These, Gentlemen, are the proposals made by your Committee. I am anxious that you should realise that we have endeavoured to obtain as much information as possible. The sub-Committee entrusted with the consideration of this question heard with great interest the very fair statement by Mlle. Mayras, head of the Pool, with regard to the position of the subordinate staff. The sub-Committee received a petition from the International staff, signed by 220 members of the Secretariat, submitting certain remarks on the cost of living in Geneva. The sub-Committee on several occasions heard statements made by Professor Attolico, Under Secretary-General; Mr. Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Office; Mr. Loveday, member of the Salaries Adjustment Committee; M. La France, also a member of that Committee; and Mr. Nixon, a member of the International Labour Office, who have been present at all our meetings and who have furnished information on the different points raised. It was also indebted to Mr. Mackinnon Wood for valuable information and for an opinion on the legal status of certain members of the Secretariat, as well as on the interpretation of certain texts which we have had to consult. I wish to convey my sincere thanks to all these gentlemen. The Fourth Committee concurs most heartily in the warm thanks addressed by the sub-Committee to its distinguished President, Sir James Allen, to whose devotion and competence is due the fact that the sub-Committee was able to conclude within a very short time the consideration of the delicate question which had been submitted to it.

The Committee also expresses its thanks to the most efficient Secretary of the sub-Committee, Captain Arnould.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other dangerous Drugs. (Rapporteur: Mlle. Bonnevie.)*

The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs has now been at work for two years. Last year it laid before the Assembly a report of the preparatory work already performed, and of its plans for further progress. This year we have before us again two reports showing how these plans are working, and proving also the necessity of proposing further steps to be taken by the Council as well as by the Governments in order to bring about the full co-operation between all nations without which, as expressed by the Advisory Committee (Document C. 37, M. 91, 1923), "its efforts must be nullified and the Convention must break down."

The two sessions held by the Advisory Committee this year have been of particular importance, in view of the fact that the Government of the United States of America had, on the invitation of the Council, sent a special Delegation to co-operate with the Committee. The following proposals have, by this Delegation, been submitted to the Advisory Committee:—

- (1) "If the purpose of the Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, it must be recognised that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate."
- (2) "In order to prevent the abuse of these drugs, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific purposes."

These proposals were, after a very full examination, accepted by the Committee and recommended to the League of Nations as embodying the general principles on which the International Convention of 1912 is based and by which the Governments should be guided in dealing with the abuse of dangerous drugs.

In accepting these proposals, the representatives of the Governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam made the following reservation:—

"The use of prepared opium and the production, export and import of raw opium for that purpose are legitimate so long as that use is subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II. of the Convention."

The representative of the Government of India also accepted the American proposals, with the following reservation:—

"The use of raw opium, according to the established practice in India, and its production for such use, are not illegitimate under the Convention."

India concurs also in the reservation made by the other countries mentioned above.

In this connection may also be mentioned the declaration made by Lord Hardinge, Delegate of India, at the 12th meeting of the Fifth Committee with regard to the control of the sale and consumption of opium in India:—

"In consequence of observations that have reached me in connection with my remarks the other day on the subject of opium, I would like to make the following statement:—

"My words on that occasion were: 'Opium is now, and has for three years been, a matter dealt with by the Provincial Governments, and in all Provinces, except Assam, it is administered by Indian Ministers.'

"I would like to amplify that statement by saying that the administration of the control of opium in all but one province is in the hands of an Indian Minister and the power to deal with the question rests with bodies which contain an effective majority of members elected by the people. If, therefore, popular demand exists for a modification of the policy hitherto followed, and if a Provincial Council wishes to restrict still further the sale of opium for eating in India or to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical and scientific purposes, it is, in all provinces but one, open to the Indian Minister to initiate legislation in that sense. In Assam, the one province referred to, I understand that the Government has concerted, in consultation with Indian Members of the Legislature, a scheme for further progressive restrictions.

"I would further add that, in the event of any such legislation being initiated in any province, it would undoubtedly receive support from the Government of India."

The co-operation with the United States was continued also in the Fifth Committee, where the same Delegation, as consultative members of the Committee, have taken an interested part in our discussions. This co-operation will, I am sure, be welcomed by all Governments as being of great importance for the success of our fight against the abuse of narcotic drugs.

The Fifth Committee, after having examined the two reports laid before it by the Advisory Committee, considering all the valuable facts therein contained and all the interesting resolutions forming together a practical programme of further action, proposes to the Assembly to express its deep appreciation of the work performed by the Advisory Committee and to adopt its report and resolutions, requesting the Council to take the necessary steps to put these resolutions into effect. (Resolution 1.)

The Fifth Committee has, however, also found it necessary to emphasise some points of great importance for the whole work and in a series of resolutions to propose a special action to be taken:—

(a) With regard to the ratification of the Opium Convention of 1912, progress—even if slow—can be reported among the States Members of the League.

A further step forward of great importance is the fact that, by the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey has now undertaken to adhere to the Convention. In view of the great importance of Turkey as an opium-producing country, the Committee has considered it desirable to recommend that Turkey should be invited by the Council, as soon as she has actually ratified the Convention and put it into force, to send a representative to the Advisory Committee. (Resolution 2.)

(b) The Fifth Committee has learnt from the reports of the Advisory Committee that it is still waiting for the ratification of the Convention by Switzerland which had been expected in consequence of the declaration made last year by M. Ador on behalf of the Swiss Government and mentioned in the report of this Committee to the Assembly. The same is the case also with Persia, although the Persian Delegation has repeatedly recommended to the Government to withdraw its reservation.

The urgent importance to the whole work of such ratification was emphasised in the Fifth Committee by several delegates, while on the other hand the Delegates of Switzerland and of Persia have both explained, in declarations annexed to the Minutes of the Committee, the reasons which until now have made it difficult for their Governments to ratify the Convention of 1912. In Switzerland the question of juridical problem concerning the power of the Federal Government in relation to the sovereignty of the cantons has, however, already been solved, while the economic side of the question is still under discussion. In Persia the greatest difficulty consists in finding some lucrative cultivation for the peasants which might replace the cultivation of the poppy. Persia would welcome the calling of an economic conference to their Governments in overcoming such difficulties, and the declaration of M. Ador finishes with an assurance that "the Federal Council is still faithful to the principle expressed in the declaration of last year" and that "its active co-operation in the great task undertaken by the League of Nations in the field of dangerous drugs" will, it is hoped, soon be established.

The importance of ratifications by countries so deeply interested in the production of and trade in opium and other drugs as those just mentioned is clearly evident, the endeavours of the Advisory Committee to bring about a control of production and limit of abuse being more or less hopeless so long which can be counted neither among producers nor among manufacturers of opium, &c., is also of great importance, such countries easily becoming centres of illicit traffic.*

* The following countries Members of the League have not yet ratified the Opium Convention: Albania, Argentine, Colombia, Costa Rica, Lithuania, Paraguay, Persia, Switzerland.

The Fifth Committee therefore recommends that the Council should, once more, make an appeal to the Governments concerned. (Resolution 3.)

(c) With regard to the system of import certificates, unanimously approved by the Assembly in 1921 and again recommended in 1922, the information has been given that at present 20 States have adopted this system and put it into force, while 13 other States have accepted the principle. The Advisory Committee regrets, however, that a number of States Members of the League, and Parties to the Opium Convention, have not yet signified their adoption of this system.*

A resolution was passed by the Assembly last year, asking the Advisory Committee to examine the question of the measures to be taken towards countries not adopting the import certificate system. The complicated and technical character of the issues involved in the resolution mentioned was examined by the Advisory Committee at its extraordinary meeting in January this year.

As, however, the adherence of the three important countries, Switzerland, Persia and Turkey, would make the solution of the whole question much easier, and as these countries had all given hopes of their ratification of the Convention at an early date, Switzerland having declared itself willing to adopt also the import certificate system, the Advisory Committee resolved to postpone a final decision in regard to the Assembly's resolution.

In view of the urgency of this matter, the Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly a resolution in which the Advisory Committee is requested to proceed with its investigations of the question and to report specially to the next Assembly on the whole situation. (Resolution 4.)

(d) During the past year the Advisory Committee has further been engaged in this work of investigating the question of the world's needs of the manufactured drugs for medicinal and scientific uses with a view to the eventual limitation of the production of those drugs. Much valuable material has been sent to the Committee in annual reports and otherwise; a series of documents now exists for the first time regarding the cultivation of opium in the world (Document O. C. 109), its production in China (Document O. C. 117), the quantities of narcotic drugs considered as necessary by the Governments (Document O. C. 115), the world's requirements of such drugs (Document O. C. 116).

The Committee is, however, still without the statistics of the production of the drugs in France and Holland, and a number of countries have failed to supply the Committee with estimates of the amount of the drugs required for the internal consumption of their countries, as recommended by the third resolution of the Assembly last year. The failure to supply this information creates a great difficulty for the Advisory Committee.

The Delegate of the Netherlands has reminded the Fifth Committee of the declaration, made at an earlier date also by the Netherlands Delegate before the Advisory Committee, with regard to the reasons which make it impossible for the Government of that country to publish the statistics of manufacture of morphine and cocaine, so long as other countries parties to the Convention are not yet co-operating in the same manner.

The Delegate of France, on his side, declared that, as soon as possible, the statistics would be sent to the Advisory Committee by the French Government.

(e) A few words must be said as to the position in the Far East. It is satisfactory to note that the efforts made to stop the illicit traffic in the drugs in this part of the world has not been without result, and that large seizures have been made by the authorities. The situation appears, however, to remain very grave. In China, the cultivation and sale of opium have increased, and it would appear from the latest reports that they are now being carried on to an enormous extent. The smuggling of the manufactured drugs also continues, in spite of the measures taken by the Japanese and other Governments. It will be seen from the fifth report of the Advisory Committee that new and more stringent regulations have been brought into force in Japan, and we may perhaps express a hope that the Japanese Government will be able, even in the terrible catastrophe which has fallen upon that country, to maintain the efforts which it has begun to stop this evil.

In accordance with a recommendation made last year by the Advisory Committee with the approval of the Council (21st July 1922), the authorities of Japan and China have now, as communicated to the Fifth Committee by the Japanese Delegate, entered into negotiations with a view to establishing a mixed Commission of control of the traffic in opium and other drugs.

(f) The Fifth Committee has learned from the reports of the Advisory Committee that it has found the time ripe for taking measures towards a more effective application of Chapter II. of the Opium Convention concerning the "gradual suppression" of the use of prepared opium in territories where such use has not yet been prohibited, as well as to a reduction of the quantity of raw opium imported into these territories for the purpose of smoking.

Based itself on a resolution passed by the Advisory Committee, the Fifth Committee proposes that a Conference should be called for this purpose. (Resolution 5.)

This resolution was passed in the Fifth Committee by a majority, a division of opinion having been expressed with regard to the question of the composition of the Conference, as well as to the words "for the purpose of smoking."

The American Delegation, while agreeing with the resolution as carried, made, with regard to the meaning of these words, the following reservation, with which the French Delegate associated himself:—

"The representative of the United States of America desires to place on record that the term 'opium for smoking' appearing in Resolution 2 does not occur in Chapter II. of the Hague Convention of 1912, which refers only to prepared opium, and that the use of the said term 'opium for smoking' is not to be construed as an interpretation of the Convention."

(g) With great satisfaction, we read in the report that the Advisory Committee, in reviewing the work carried out during the past two years, has found that the information now available makes it possible to take steps towards a limitation of the production of the drugs. It has proposed that the Governments concerned in such production should enter into immediate negotiations to consider whether an agreement could be reached on this point.

The Fifth Committee recommends a resolution to be passed to the effect that a conference should be called also for this purpose, suggesting at the same time, for the consideration of the Council, the advisability of enlarging this Conference so as to include within its scope all countries which are Members of the League, or parties to the Convention of 1912, with a view to securing their adhesion to the principles that may be embodied in any agreement arrived at. (Resolution 6.)

* Amongst such States are: France, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

With regard to this suggestion, the Delegate of the Netherlands declared that, although in full sympathy with the object of the proposed Conference, the reasons for its extension did not appear in any way conclusive. It was to be feared, for instance, that the countries where at present the drug was not manufactured would stand aside when the new agreement was ratified on the plea that no such manufacture existed in their territory.

It was by the Fifth Committee considered as urgent that both Conferences should be held as soon as possible, the more limited Conference concerning the Far East to be held first, while the other should follow, if possible, immediately after the former.

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.* (Rapporteur: M. Sokal.)

The Fifth Committee had before it the report of the Council and that of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children made after its second session in March last, and expressed its appreciation of the record of steady progress contained in this latter report. The appointment of a representative of the United States of America on the Committee was noted with much satisfaction.

The Committee, while considering in detail the resolutions passed by the Advisory Committee, and in the light of the work of the Council of the League in this connection noted with satisfaction that the resolutions of the Advisory Committee were approved by the Council in all essential points.

The Committee desires to offer some observations on the following matters:—

1. The Committee observes with regret that, at the date of the meeting of the Fourth Assembly, only the following 14 States had ratified the Convention of 1921:—Australia, Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Canada, Cuba, Greece, India, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Siam and South Africa. Three States, viz., Denmark, Finland and Panama, had adhered to the Convention. In view of the fact that the Fifth Committee was able to report last year that 33 States had signed the Convention, the slow progress in the deposit of ratifications is not satisfactory. From some of the statements made by delegates, it appears that in some cases the delay has been caused by the necessity of amending internal legislation in order to comply with the provisions of the Convention and that there is a likelihood of further ratifications being deposited at an early date. It is to be hoped that the Fifth Committee will be able to report a great improvement in this direction next year, as the time that has elapsed since the Convention was signed ought to have enabled all the signatory States to take the necessary action. The Fifth Committee thinks that the attention of States should again be called to the matter and passed a resolution to that effect.

2. The Fifth Committee was very interested to read that part of the report of the Advisory Committee which deals with the presence of foreign prostitutes in licensed houses—a question which was specially referred to them on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee last year. The Committee is glad to note that the proposal of the Polish Delegate, “that pending the abolition of State regulation, no foreign women shall be employed in or carry on her profession as a prostitute in any licensed houses,” was adopted by the Advisory Committee by a majority, and observes that the Council, in view of the differences of opinion manifested on this subject, has decided to communicate to Members of the League the report of the Advisory Committee on the question, together with an extract from the minutes of its proceedings relative to the examination of the Sokal proposal and an extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Council relating to the same subject.

3. Arising out of the question referred to in the preceding paragraph the Advisory Committee considered the connection which may exist between the traffic in women and the system of State or official regulation, and proposed that a questionnaire should be issued to States asking for a statement of their experience. The Fifth Committee agrees that information of this kind may prove to be of the greatest value, and it is glad to know that the Council has already taken steps to issue this questionnaire in a slightly modified form.

4. On the subject of the employment of women police in dealing with prostitution, which is the subject of Resolution 8 in the Advisory Committee's report, several delegates urged the importance of this question. In their opinion the services of police-women are essential not only in dealing with prostitutes, whether in licensed houses or elsewhere, but especially in patrolling streets and open spaces so as to prevent the molestation of women and children and to give help to those who need advice or assistance. These delegates emphasised the value of the preventive side of women's work in this direction. The Fifth Committee notes that the Council decided to forward the recommendation of the Advisory Committee to all the Governments for their information.

5. Great satisfaction was expressed by members of the Fifth Committee on the adoption by the Council of the recommendation of the Advisory Committee that a small body of experts should be appointed to undertake a special study in order to obtain the fullest information concerning the conditions under which the traffic in women is carried out. It is understood that the funds necessary to defray the cost of the enquiry will be forthcoming from private sources in America. Such an investigation is likely to be of the greatest value in indicating whether the measures now being taken are sufficient or whether further action is required. It is apparent that the success of the enquiry must depend on the goodwill and collaboration of the countries where it may be thought necessary to make enquiries, and the Fifth Committee earnestly hopes that the experts will receive the fullest assistance in this respect. A resolution was passed voicing its views on this point.

In the course of the discussion on the Advisory Committee's report, two other matters were raised.

The Delegate for Roumania referred to allegations which are often made as to the circumstances under which women are recruited for employment in licensed houses and to the need for investigation. The Fifth Committee considers that any enquiries in this direction should be made by the Governments of States when the system of licensed houses is in operation and decided to pass a resolution recommending that the Advisory Committee should be asked to examine the question.

The British Delegate drew the attention of the Fifth Committee to the fact that the International Conventions on the Traffic in Women are not yet applied to all territories administered under mandate. It appears that the Permanent Commission on Mandates has already had this question under consideration, and it was decided to recommend that this Commission should be invited to give the matter further consideration.

In expressing appreciation of the work done by the Advisory Committee and the Council, the Fifth Committee wishes to point out that the League can only offer counsel as to the best means of dealing with the problems which arise. The responsibility for executive measures, that is to say, the actual police work, rests with individual Governments and calls for constant watchfulness. Some of the worst evils of the traffic have been suppressed by international co-operation and a revival of them can only be prevented by continued activity. There is apparently a public impression that the traffic in women consists only in the recruiting of innocent women and girls for immoral purposes abroad, but it is equally important to ensure that women do not drift into a life of immorality by want of proper supervision over the conditions of their employment in foreign countries, whether in theatrical or other occupations, and also to prevent the exploitation of women who have entered upon a life of prostitution at the hands of the abandoned persons who prey upon them.

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the work of the High Commission for Refugees: (a) Russian Refugees, and (b) Bulgarian Inhabitants expelled from Western Thrace. (Rapporteur: M. Simeon Radeff.)*

I.—RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

On 27th June 1921, the Council approved in principle the appointment of a High Commissioner to co-ordinate the measures taken by the various Governments and independent organisations to deal with the problems raised by the presence of more than one and a half million Russian refugees scattered throughout Europe and the Far East.

Thanks to the co-operation of the various Governments concerned, to the efforts of the High Commission and to the valuable support afforded to it by many private relief organisations, it has been possible to effect a very substantial improvement in the situation of the refugees.

It was recognised from the outset that the problem presented two distinct phases, one being of a transitory nature and consisting of hospitality in various countries, and the other a permanent solution by repatriation to Russia if and when conditions in that country became favourable.

Substantial progress has been made in the transitory phase. Thirty-two Governments have recognised the model identity certificate for Russian refugees recommended by the High Commission. The problem of the refugees in Constantinople, which, at the time of the establishment of the High Commission, assumed very serious proportions, has been practically liquidated by means of the evacuation to other countries of more than 20,000 refugees, most of whom are no longer dependent on charitable organisations, but are now engaged in productive work. With money obtained from various sources, and with the co-operation of the Governments and relief organisations in the work of the High Commission, the High Commissioner has been able to assist the great majority of the refugees who have settled in Central Europe and the Balkans. Bulgaria, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Germany deserve the deepest gratitude for their generous hospitality to hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees.

A considerable movement for a return to their country having manifested itself among certain categories of the refugees, negotiations were opened with the Soviet Government in order to secure satisfactory arrangements for their return to Russia. Some 6,000 refugees have been repatriated from Bulgaria and Greece under this arrangement, and the High Commission's representatives in Russia report that the concessions obtained from the Soviet Government have been loyally observed. It need hardly be pointed out that the High Commission has repatriated only those refugees who wished to return to their country, and that nothing has been done which might be interpreted as an encouragement to repatriation.

It is a principle recognised by all who are concerned with the problem of Russian refugees that this problem can only be solved by repatriation.

No other solution can be more than temporary. Such solutions are none the less important, for if repatriation is the only final solution of the question, it must first be made possible. At the present time, however, it seems clear that, if the repatriation of Russian refugees were carried out on comprehensive lines, it would involve certain dangers for those concerned. The time is not yet ripe for them all to return to their own country. However, the internal political situation in Russia appears to be becoming gradually more stable, and there is ground for hope that general repatriation will not only be possible, but will also be the desire of the refugees themselves. When that time comes, it will be the High Commission's task to organise that gradual repatriation as it is now organising partial repatriation.

In brief, practical experience leads us to conclude that, for the present, the duty of the High Commission is to continue to organise the protection—in the widest sense of the term—of Russian refugees until such time as general repatriation, the only final solution of the problem, becomes possible.

II.—BULGARIAN INHABITANTS EXPELLED FROM WESTERN THRACE.

The Council, at its meeting on 21st April 1923, considered, at the request of the Bulgarian Government, the question of the expulsion of certain Bulgarian inhabitants from Western Thrace to different parts of Greece, and requested the High Commission to do all in its power to improve their situation.

In accordance with this request the High Commissioner instructed his organisations in Greece to examine the possibilities of improving the condition of the people concerned, and, as a result, in close co-operation with the Greek authorities, has succeeded in securing the issue by the Greek Government of rations and allowances to these people.

Further, the High Commission, in conjunction with the Greek Government, examined the possibility of securing the return of these deportees to their homes.

The Greek Government accepted this proposal and has begun to carry it out. The High Commission has been informed that 2,000 deportees have already been repatriated, and that the return of 4,000 of them, who had been concentrated in Thessaly and in the island of Cérigo, is now proceeding. The High Commission has received assurance that repatriation will be accomplished by degrees in proportion as the Bulgarian villages are evacuated by the Greek refugees who had been temporarily accommodated there by the Greek Government, as they themselves have stated. The Greek Government must be congratulated on having accepted this happy solution of a problem which, in spite of its humanitarian guise, threatened to disturb its good relations with Bulgaria.

The work undertaken by the High Commission is immense, and the resources at its disposal are comparatively infinitesimal. Had it not been for the creative genius of Dr. Nansen, who knew how to co-ordinate every form of assistance and goodwill, the High Commission would not have been in a position to obtain the admirable results which it has achieved.

Your Committee wishes to state that Dr. Nansen has carried out his mission in a way which deserves the gratitude of all mankind.

ANNEX XV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the question of Travelling Facilities for Groups of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.* (Rapporteur: M. Valdés Mendeville.)

The Fifth Committee has had referred to it a draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Chilean Delegation, worded as follows:—

“The Assembly of the League of Nations: Considering that the international Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement, which promotes closer relations and a better understanding between the younger generations of all nations, is rendering very real and valuable services in the cause of world peace;

“Considering that it would be desirable to afford all possible assistance to the Boy Scouts International Bureau, and that its registered national associations should receive aid and support in carrying out their international task:

“Invites the Governments of the States Members of the League to give favourable consideration as regards travel by land or by water and passport and Customs regulations, to the question of the facilities which they can provide for those groups of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides which belong to a registered national Boy Scouts Association of any State Member of the League, when such groups are travelling from the territory of one State Member of the League to or through the territory of another State Member.”

The Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement is not one of those new, unknown or little-known movements in the case of which it is desirable to await the results they may produce before recommending them for consideration and support to public opinion and the various governmental organisations.

Founded before the 1914 war, the movement had, even at that date, a very considerable number of adherents throughout the world. To-day it includes more than two and a-half million young people of both sexes in every continent and in every land, and it continues to prosper.

The Fifth Committee was of the opinion that, in recommending the Assembly to invite the various Governments to grant the assistance requested, it would not be asking for support for some feeble undertaking which is destined to disappear. The Assembly is being asked to take under its protection a movement which is full of life and which is, I may add, inspired by ideals the noble and lofty character of which is not contested and whose usefulness is undeniable from the point of view which is of special importance to all of us here; the point of view of world peace.

Therefore, it is not only necessary, but actually indispensable, that this movement should receive every support and assistance.

It should not be forgotten that the thoughts and feelings of the younger generation are an important element in forming the conscience of humanity; a pure and healthy element freed from all prejudice, rancour and memories poisoned by hatred; an element of enthusiasm and generous sentiment.

For that reason we should assist the international movement on behalf of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, a movement which, by the constant exchange of visits, by camp life, by games played and by happy days spent together, during which the young people get to understand one another, increases from day to day their feelings of comprehension, respect and love for their neighbours whatever may be their language, race or continent.

At the suggestion of the Delegate of the Irish Free State, it was proposed that the facilities to be granted to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides should be extended to groups of students at higher or secondary educational institutions. A substitute resolution was therefore drawn up to meet this

view. This resolution was approved by the Fifth Committee and is submitted for adoption by the Assembly :—

"The Assembly, considering the importance of encouraging contact between the younger generations of different nationalities, invites the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations to grant all possible facilities for travel by land or by water—

- "(a) To groups of students at higher or secondary educational institutions,
- "(b) To groups of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides,

belonging to a registered national association of all States Members of the League, when such groups are travelling from the territory of one State Member of the League either through or to the territory of another State Member."

ANNEX XVI.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on International Organisation designed to take part in the Relief of Peoples stricken by Calamities.* (Rapporteur: M. Georges Reynald.)

Senator Ciruolo is the author of a proposal for the creation of an international organisation for the relief and assistance of populations stricken by calamities. With reference to this proposal, the Secretary-General has drawn up a report which the Council has decided to submit to the Fourth Assembly, together with a resolution according to which the question would be referred to the Governments, which would be requested to take cognisance of these documents and to furnish their observations with regard to the matter.

The Fifth Committee has examined with great interest the report of the Secretary-General on this important question. It was anxious, in the first instance, to pay tribute to the highly humanitarian spirit which had prompted Senator Ciruolo's proposal and it was happy to have the advantage of his presence in order to receive explanations from him and to express to him its keen sympathy with his generous initiative. It has also appreciated the very instructive document which has been submitted to it and which contains numerous suggestions calling for consideration and reflection. The various points are examined with an exact appreciation of their practical aspect and without concealing any of the difficulties which will arise in their execution. This piece of constructive work ends with the draft of an international pact giving precise details as to the organisation and methods of procedure.

The Fifth Committee considers that it is not necessary for the moment to discuss these methods of procedure, or to undertake a detailed study of the proposal. In order that the various Governments might have before them sufficient material to be able to pronounce an opinion on the question of principle, it was necessary to draw up a programme and to outline a scheme and a method; but it would be premature for the Assembly to decide upon any details before the Governments consulted have been able to express their views on the subject and to formulate their observations.

The only idea which we wish to emphasise, because it clearly results from the opinions expressed and because it appears to be a useful commentary to the proposal itself, is that the result to be attained consists essentially in the organisation of immediate relief. Rapidity of action is to be aimed at rather than a wide scope. Every day, every hour lost may have disastrous consequences. It is of supreme importance that the stricken populations should have resources available and helpers trained for the work. Willingness and devotion are unavailing unless there is an organised force capable of directing such devotion into the right channels and of controlling relief work without hesitation and without delay. That is the aim which Senator Ciruolo seeks to realise and which the League of Nations will no doubt wish to put before the various Governments.

It will do so with the greater confidence in view of the fact that the law of solidarity governs all alike with an ever-increasing force. The time is past when human beings remained isolated in their sufferings and when man bore the weight of his grief in solitude. Pity is awakened, charity appeals to conscience; individuals, associations and peoples feel themselves bound by mutual obligations; all understand that no great calamity can take place in the world without every individual being called upon to take part in the work of relief and reparation. Hearts and minds are thus disposed to accept the law of mutual assistance. We could not refuse to turn these humanitarian tendencies to account and to organize them, which is the only way of utilising them to the best advantage and of putting them into effect.

It is in this spirit that the Fifth Committee has unanimously adopted the Italian Delegate's proposal to accept the resolution of the Council.

ANNEX XVII.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Question of Slavery.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Nansen.)

The First sub-Committee of the Sixth Committee has taken note of the information on the question of slavery presented to the Fourth Assembly by the Council, especially the document A. 18, 1923, VI.

The sub-Committee fully agreed with the opinion expressed in the Council Resolution of 5th July 1923, "that the information which has been collected so far from the States Members of the League is not adequate to provide the basis of a sufficiently complete report," and that the enquiry into the question of slavery must consequently be continued and extended.

The sub-Committee wished to lay special stress upon the desirability of obtaining a satisfactory result from this enquiry at the earliest possible date.

Different views were expressed by the members of the sub-Committee regarding the methods which might be adopted in collecting and sifting the material in question. Everyone agreed that this difficult task should be entrusted to some expert body, but, considering the present financial

position of the League, all wished to avoid extra expenditure. While some members were of the opinion that the question of slavery in general might be referred to the Permanent Mandates Commission, others suggested that the Council might possibly avail itself of the services of the International Bureau at Brussels, which is at present only dealing with the liquor traffic; still others suggested that a special Advisory Committee might be appointed.

The sub-Committee finally agreed that the question of ways and means for the continued enquiry might be left to the discretion of the Council, and decided to propose to the Sixth Committee that the following draft resolution should be submitted to the Assembly. (*See page 30.*)

ANNEX XVIII.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Question placed on the Agenda at the request of the Lithuanian Government.*

The Sixth Committee has the honour to submit its report to the Assembly with regard to the question placed on the agenda at the request of the Lithuanian Government.

As the same question had already formed the subject of a discussion by the Council and of a Council Resolution, the Committee decided in the first instance to consult the First Committee as to the possibility, from a legal point of view, of a further debate by the Assembly. As the reply of the First Committee (Annex No. 1) does not exclude this possibility, a sub-Committee has been appointed to examine the question submitted to the Assembly by the Lithuanian Government.

After an exchange of views between the members of the sub-Committee and the Lithuanian representative, M. Sidzikauskas, the latter addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Committee, dated 25th September (Annex No. 2), which concluded by requesting the Chairman "to propose to the Sixth Committee and to the Assembly that the further examination of the question placed on the agenda of the Fourth Assembly at the request of the Lithuanian Government should be referred to the next plenary Assembly of the League of Nations."

In consequence, the Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly that instructions should be given to refer to the Fifth Assembly, according to the desire expressed by the Lithuanian Delegation, the question placed on the agenda of the present session at the request of the Lithuanian Government.

ANNEX 1.

Reply of the First Committee to the Questions submitted to it in the Letter from the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, dated 5th September 1923.

The question addressed by the Chairman of the Sixth Committee to the First Committee is the following :—

"May a discussion previously opened before the Council, and closed by the formal adoption by the Council of the findings in a report, be reopened before the Assembly?"

The First Committee would respectfully point out that it is impossible to give a definite reply to a question couched in such general terms. The only course which appears to it to be practicable is to consider the particular circumstances which gave rise to the question, and to offer an opinion limited to this case.

The Committee gathers from the documents presented that, during the deliberations of the Council of the League in reference to the frontier between Poland and Lithuania, the Council came to certain decisions. The Lithuanian Government contested the competence of the Council to make these decisions, and applied to the Council to request the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion upon the question of its competence. The Council declined to do this, and thereupon the Lithuanian Government has asked the Assembly to submit this question to the Court.

It is clear that, by Article 14 of the League of Nations Covenant, both the Council and the Assembly are empowered to ask for an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court, and by Articles 3 and 4 both bodies may "deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world."

From these Articles it would seem, *prima facie*, that there is no obstacle in the way of both bodies acting in the case under consideration.

However, on 7th December 1920 the Assembly adopted a report in which the question of the relations between, and respective competence of, the Council and the Assembly were fully discussed, and it came to the following conclusion, viz. :—

"The Council and the Assembly are each invested with particular powers and duties. Neither body has jurisdiction to render a decision in a matter which, by the Treaties or the Covenant, has been expressly committed to the other organ of the League. Either body may discuss and examine any matter which is within the competence of the League."

The First Committee has therefore to consider whether, in this case, the question of inviting the Court to advise upon the competence of the Council is one that has been "expressly committed to" the Council.

The Committee is of opinion that, although the Assembly could not take into consideration a question the solution of which is pending before the Council, nevertheless, if the question of competence is raised in relation to the contents of the report made by the Council, this point does not constitute a matter expressly committed to the Council, and that the Assembly may consider itself competent to order a reference to the Court if it thinks it desirable.

But in expressing this opinion, the Committee does not wish to make any pronouncement upon the other legal objections which might be made in regard to the requests for an advisory opinion formulated in the Lithuanian proposal or on the advantages or the inconveniences that, in the particular case put by Lithuania, may attend the exercise of the right of the Assembly thus recognised in principle.

18th September 1923.

(Translation.)

ANNEX 2.

Letter, dated 25th September 1923, addressed to the Chairman of the Sixth Committee by the Lithuanian Delegation.

At its meeting of 3rd February 1923, the Council of the League of Nations decided, in spite of the protests of the Lithuanian Delegate, to divide up the neutral zone which owes its origin to the violent act of Zeligowski, and which separates the Lithuanian and Polish troops in the Vilna district. This zone was established by virtue of an armistice protocol regularly signed by the representatives of the Lithuanian and Polish Governments, and registered and published at the request of the latter Government by the Secretariat of the League of Nations in accordance with Article 18 of the Covenant. The Lithuanian Government is of opinion that, as no dispute with regard to the partition of the neutral zone had been submitted to the Council by the parties concerned under the conditions laid down in the Covenant, the Council of the League of Nations was not competent on its own initiative and without the consent of the two parties to modify the provisions of an agreement concluded by these parties and to attribute to its resolution the force of a recommendation of the Council given in pursuance of para. 6 of Article 15 of the Covenant. The Lithuanian Government is also unable to agree with the Council of the League of Nations as to the scope of Council recommendations given in pursuance of para. 6 of Article 15 of the Covenant, and it considers that the view held by the Council in a concrete case of this sort is not in conformity with the provisions of the Covenant.

The Government of the Lithuanian Republic therefore asked the Fourth Assembly to be good enough, in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant, to seek an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice with regard to the disputed points set out above. This request made by the Lithuanian Government has been placed on the agenda of the present Assembly and will be found under heading 23 (b).

Apart from the fact that the above-mentioned questions affect matters which go beyond the sphere of the dispute between Lithuania and Poland and raise points of importance for the future of the League of Nations and for its jurisprudence, they are of very special interest to the Lithuanian Government. That Government is faced with the existence of a provisional line of demarcation which the Council of the League of Nations traced in the above-mentioned circumstances and which the Lithuanian Government does not recognise. The position has been rendered considerably worse by the fact that the Conference of Ambassadors has seen fit to refer in its resolution regarding the eastern frontier of Poland to the said decision of the Council.

Nevertheless, as no reply has been received from the Conference of Ambassadors to the note of the Lithuanian Government of 16th April 1923, referring to the above-mentioned resolution of the Conference of Ambassadors, and as I am anxious, on the other hand, to take into account the suggestions made to me in this connection by members of the sub-Committee on the Lithuanian question, I venture very respectfully to beg Your Excellency to propose to the Sixth Committee and to the Assembly that the further examination of the question placed on the agenda of the Fourth Assembly at the request of the Lithuanian Government should be referred to the next plenary Assembly of the League of Nations.

(Signed) SIDZIKAUSKAS,
First Lithuanian Delegate.

APPENDIX IV.

Certain Speeches and Statements by the Indian Delegates.

ANNEX I.—Report of Speech by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, in Committee V.,
18th September, on Opium.

Lord Hardinge said that he had listened with great interest to the extremely able and lucid report which Mr. Bonnevie had submitted to the Committee. He wished to pay a warm tribute to the assiduous work of the Advisory Committee, which, after an exhaustive study of the opium question in all its aspects, had proposed a certain number of resolutions. It must be a source of satisfaction to the Committee and to the Delegation of the United States to feel that these resolutions bore the clear impress of the humanitarian motives which had inspired the action of the United States representatives on the Advisory Committee, and which were characteristic of the great American nation.

Lord Hardinge was authorised to declare that the Government of India accepted the report and the resolutions presented by the Advisory Committee with the reservations as submitted, and he hoped that this report and the resolutions contained therein would be approved by the Committee and the Assembly.

Ten years ago, before the opium question had assumed an international character, Lord Hardinge at that time Viceroy of India, had had to take important decisions in regard to the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium in India. The cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium in India dated from the 16th century, and the first law regarding the control of the production of this narcotic was enacted in 1813 by the Government of Bengal. Many new laws had been passed during the last century, and it might be said that in the course of the last 40 years the distribution and the use of opium in that country had sensibly declined. A Royal Commission sent to India in 1893 had reported that the control was effective, but further regulations had been issued since that date.

The policy of the Indian Government had been to restrict consumption to legitimate needs. Further, the sale of opium was subject to certain very stringent measures, such as the production of licences and an elaborate system of passes.

In particular, the vendor could not sell opium except upon cash payment and on premises for which he was licensed. He must not allow consumption on such premises, and he must keep a full account of the sales, which must be open at all times to inspection by excise officers. The number of shops thus licensed, which was fixed so as not to exceed what was necessary to satisfy the moderate needs of legitimate consumers, was, moreover, being constantly reduced. The control was, therefore, extremely strict and rigid, and no Government in India would tolerate any relaxation of this control.

Opium was now, and has for three years been, a matter dealt with by the Provincial Governments, and in all Provinces, except Assam, it was administered by Indian Ministers.

When Lord Hardinge went to India there was a large export of opium to China. The Chinese Government was at that moment making great efforts with a view to prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy in Chinese territory. The Government of India did not wish to hinder the action of the Chinese Government, and it decided that the export of opium destined for China should be reduced *provisum* with the suppression of the cultivation of opium in China. Although the agreement concluded between the Indian and Chinese Governments laid down that the export of opium in China should cease in 1918, this export had actually ceased in 1913, thanks to the measures taken by the Government of India. This entailed, as regards the Indian Budget, a loss of four million pounds sterling net revenue out of a total revenue of sixty millions. This took place, moreover, at a moment when expenditure on large schemes of education and sanitation were under consideration. These schemes had had to be abandoned.

In order to make good as far as possible the deficit which had thus arisen, it had been necessary to impose additional taxation on the people of India. In spite of this, complaints have been rare, as it was realised in India that India's loss was China's moral gain.

These facts showed that, while India had always had in the control of opium the interests of her people at heart, she had at the same time pursued a beneficent and unselfish policy towards her neighbours even when their interests had been in conflict with her own.

ANNEX II.—*Statement by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, in Committee V., 21st September, on Opium.*

In consequence of observations that have reached me in connection with my remarks the other day on the subject of opium, I would like to make the following statement:—

My words on that occasion were: "Opium is now, and has for three years been, a matter dealt with by the Provincial Governments, and in all provinces, except Assam, it is administered by Indian Ministers."

I would like to amplify that statement by saying that the administration of the control of opium in all but one province is in the hands of an Indian Minister, and the power to deal with the question rests with bodies which contain an effective majority of members elected by the people. If, therefore, popular demand exists for a modification of the policy hitherto followed, and if a Provincial Council wishes to restrict still further the sale of opium for eating in India or to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical and scientific purposes, it is, in all provinces but one, open to the Indian Minister to initiate legislation in that sense. In Assam, the one province referred to, I understand that the Government has concerted, in consultation with Indian Members of the Legislature, a scheme for further progressive restrictions.

I would further add that, in the event of any such legislation being initiated in any province, it would undoubtedly receive support from the Government of India.

ANNEX III.—*Speech by Mr. Hasan Iman, read by H.H. the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanaagar, 27th September, on Opium.*

If I were to commence what I have to say in the customary form of applauding the League of Nations for the work it has attained in its existence of four years, I would be merely repeating what other speakers have already said in eloquent terms and inimitable language. The ideals of the League, high and noble as they are, do not in fact need words to express their grandeur. Born in a land hoary with ideals, brought up in reverence for those ideals, bred to believe in those ideals, the Indian bows his head in worship of the ideals of the League. The ideal fills the Oriental mind and is an abiding source of hope in Oriental life. The East gave her message of faith and hope to the West when the world was young, and the East again sends her message of faith and hope to the West when the world is old. What has attracted the East to the League is not its functional capacity to execute the demands of materialism, but its ambition to set before itself an ideal ennobling, elevating, soul-fulfilling in order to redeem mankind, mankind without distinction of race or creed, from the many dangers that beset its path in the fulfilment of self-realisation. Shorn of that ideal the League would be but a mere machine, spiritless, soulless. Born of the wail of the widow and the cry of the orphan, the League in its ideals has much that thrills the mind and entrals the soul. When mind and soul work in unison the hand has to exercise its function, has to execute the mandate, has to obey the call of conscience. The lurid light of history on past events, howsoever discouraging in its exposure of human nature, has yet to darken before the blaze that the ideal sets in flame. While events of history may discourage us, and cause a gloom on our minds, the ideal supplies the necessary strength to battle against temptation, and hope, born of the truth of the ideal, sustains us to achieve the common good of mankind. To the East, with its meditative mind, with its absorption in the Eternal Truth, nothing could be more appealing than the beautiful ideal of goodwill to all and peace for mankind, the ideal that engendered the being of the League. It is true that from the spiritual plain of ideals the League has had to descend to the actualities of life and to deal with figures, statistics and problems that encompass, and necessarily encompass, the individual. But in descending from the ideal to the

real, from ethics to actualities, from morals to practice, the League would be demonstrating the worth of its great mission in applying the ideal to the solution of international questions. The mission to establish peace in the midst of conflicting interests of nationalities is great, but its fulfilment is only possible by the achievement of a larger, a wider, a bigger mission—the mission of humanitarianism—for it is out of humanitarianism, the bedrock of individual life, that the hopes of humanity can be realised. Out of that mission of humanitarianism has arisen the question of the dispensation of drugs, in one aspect dangerous and in another aspect comforting, soothing, palliating to human suffering. The attention of the civilised world in this connection has been directed to the drug known as opium, and much has been said by humanitarian societies as to the evil effects of it. In all matters, as in this, we have to audit the account and to see if the criticism is correct, or if imagination has gone beyond the legitimate measure of judgment in making its pronouncement. No one can condemn a war more than the Indian does, but I venture to say that we are not behind those that realise that the evil of war in the past arose out of the conflicting interests of nations who indeed would have averted it if they could. Without giving any encouragement to the incentives of war we have yet got to take account of the eventualities of life, and it has to be said to the credit of some of the drugs that they supplied some of the essential needs of the hospitals that sheltered the wounded and the suffering, to whom opium in its manufactured form came not merely as a relief to suffering but as an assurance of life. I do not propose to dwell here on the scientific and medical uses of opium, but to deal with the subject of opium in its evil effect, the effect that we see of it from the addiction to it. Much interest has centered round India on this topic, and opinions, varied in character and estimate, have been formed concerning the production, by India, of opium. Much of the harshness of opinion entertained by enthusiasts concerning my country is due to what I may be permitted to call their ignorance of the people of India. There is an impression that because we are an opium growing people therefore we are an opium eating people. But if the world had been content only with entertaining such an opinion, we could have outlived such an impression by the manner of our sober and sedate life, which is the characteristic life of India and time would have disproved the truth of such an impression. In our self-reliance we could afford to wait till the outside world rectified its misconceptions. But outside India the cry has been raised—and I say without justification—that in producing opium we are helping other countries to a degeneracy in race which no moral dictates can sanction. Hence as an Indian I feel that I owe it to you and to the world outside to state in emphatic terms that we have done nothing of which we need be ashamed. We have more than fulfilled our international obligations. We have at a cost to ourselves diminished our revenue by millions—millions that would have gone to relieve our poverty, millions that we could ill-afford to spare. But the high dictates of a principle, the commands of morals, and above all our religious belief in doing good to all, prevailed with us against our interest, and without any dictation from anyone we complied with the conventions, fulfilled the obligations in their entirety, and with integrity we carried out the promise that we made to the world. Neither in spirit nor in the letter of our obligations can we be accused of having departed even by a hair's breadth from our international engagement. If you look up the statistics of our Government, if you will have patience to read our opium report from year to year for the many years during which we have undertaken this international obligation, you will acquit my country of the charge, should anyone choose to lay it, of insincerity between profession and practice. We have not supplied even an ounce of opium without the restrictive condition of the system of certificates, except, perhaps, in one individual case of a country that had not adopted the certificate system, but whose dignity and power stood as a guarantee to us of the legitimacy of her purchase. We have a perfectly clean record in our international obligations, and we invite the whole world to examine and scrutinise our dealings in opium in relation to the outside world. But I would not content myself with merely giving such a limited invitation. The League, I confess, from the view of my people, is not and should not be interested in the question of dangerous drugs, only to the extent of international obligations, but we are prepared to accede to the view that no country is entitled to drug its own people, a drugging which interests the whole world and consequently comes within the purview of the League. Some people are under the impression, and I make bold to say very wrongly under the impression, that the consumption of opium in India is beyond the legitimate requirements of the country. If that were so I would not hesitate to denounce the drugging of my countrymen. As one born in India, and solicitous of Indian welfare, I have no hesitation in claiming that my people are free from the vice of addiction to opium. Neither opium nor alcoholic drink attracts the Indian, and if some individuals have adopted either of these two vices they do not by any means establish a ground for a generalisation of such a sweeping character as seems to have found favour with well-meaning enthusiasts. At the 1922 session of this Assembly my distinguished friend the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar explained to the Assembly the extent of the need of opium in India. That speech of His Highness, I regret to have to say, has been often misunderstood, misread and misquoted. Bearing in mind the size and extent of my country, the nature of its requirements, the difficulty in getting modern medical aid in parts remote from towns, opium constituted an important aid in the alleviation of suffering whether of human beings or of animals, and to exercise an unduly restrictive vigilance over the consumption of this medical commodity is to inflict on the deserving many a denial of aid in order to save an infinitesimally small undeserving few from addiction. This brings me to the present constitution of India whereby the revenue derivable from the internal consumption of opium has been made over to the Provincial Governments wherein the excise revenue is a part of the portfolio of Ministers, who, in the administration of their respective departments, are dependent on the approval of the Legislative Councils. If in any province the evil of addiction were unhappily to exist the Legislative Council of the Province would be powerful enough to regulate the consumption of opium according to the actual need of the province. No one need apprehend that the people of India are not alive to their moral and material interests, and I may with assurance claim that the moment opium assumes a form of evil the Legislative Councils will see to the eradication of that evil.

ANNEX IV.—*Speech by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, in the Assembly, 27th September, on Opium.*

On behalf of the Indian Delegation, I desire to be allowed to congratulate the League of Nations, and its Fifth Committee and the Advisory Committee, on the excellent progress that has been made in the important international question regarding opium and dangerous drugs. The Government of India has always given its most complete adherence to the Convention, and has used every effort to carry out its terms. The success achieved in this matter by India is recognised by all. India will continue its settled policy in this direction. The Government of India will co-operate fully with the League of Nations in its efforts to further this great cause internationally. As regards *internal* administration within India, the Government has set its face against, and has done its best to eliminate in a commonsense manner, all forms of deleterious addiction. It requests all nations to give it their confidence in this matter, and particularly to recognise that India cannot regard as illegitimate the use of opium as a home-made medicine, which is general throughout India. India will not allow the deleterious use of opium for addiction purposes in India so far as stringent laws and efficient administration can prevent it. The internal administration of opium questions in India is in the hands of Indian Ministers, and is controlled by elected assemblies. I may further add that opium is a Government monopoly, and, speaking on behalf of the Indian States, the Indian States, autonomous or otherwise (such, for instance, as my own) could not export it without the permission of the Government of India, and could only export it through their agents.

Since the cessation of the Chinese traffic in 1913 no opium produced in the States of the Indian princes has been exported from India.

My colleague, Mr. Hasan Imam, was to have spoken on this subject. Unfortunately, he has been indisposed, and I will ask your permission to read on his behalf a short statement which he has made. (See Annex III.)

ANNEX V.—*Speech by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, in the Assembly, 22nd September, on the dispute between Italy and Greece.*

When our distinguished colleague, M. Motta, opened the proceedings yesterday with his very eloquent and admirable speech, I hoped to have said a few words in support of his attitude, but the chances of debate removed the opportunity till to-day.

As the representative of India, speaking on behalf of our delegation, permit me to express my heartfelt sympathy with the great Italian nation in the righteous indignation to which she was moved by such an atrocious crime. All our sympathy was with Italy in her grief, but here in the friendly atmosphere of this Assembly which *never* fails to give us harmony, concord and self-control, Italy, I am sure, will generously allow us to emphasise before the world our belief in the complete competence of the League to insist on the peaceful settlement of disputes arising between its Members. When I say "insist" I do not mean the wilful insistence of a would-be superior Power, but the brotherly insistence of friendship and equality inspired by principle.

In so far as any one Member of the League fails to live up to the principles of the Covenant, just so far does the League fail to be its true self; for the League can succeed only by the faithfulness of each one of its Members. We are all imperfect, every one of us. Let the nation without sin cast the first stone. But as a corporate body, let us not forswear one jot of our principles even if we forgive one another unto seventy times seven. We must not fear to declare our faith. The League does not set out to impose settlements—that is not its nature—but to promote agreements. When time gives us complete calmness and allows excited ignorance to subside, all the world will see how wise the Council has been and how forbearing, in the end, all parties have proved themselves.

Under the old order, before this family of nations came into being, the right of reprisal no doubt held good; but under the new order which every one of us has accepted, and to which every one of us has set his signature, we hope that this is all changed. The League of Nations is the citadel of a new age if so be that we choose to make it such. Above all, we must be, we must see ourselves as, and we must cause the world to find in us the citadel of refuge of the small nations.

Unless the strong nations, the big brothers, set the example of forbearance, unless they show in their own bodies a willingness to sacrifice their pride of power, then the League of Nations will be a sham; then our hopes will fade—must fade—and the light on the horizon will die and the familiar and accursing darkness will return. Nations, no less than men, cannot serve both the God of righteousness and the mammon of pride. India declares that she takes her stand by the new order so far as lies in her power, and that she accepts the principles and practice of the Covenant without reservation.

In 1920, after tears and tribulations, when the full significance of the war spirit still cast its evil shadow over us, then with both hands we seized the promise of the Covenant. We stretched out both hands and welcomed it. We gave our pledge with both hands.

The greatest of the Mogul Emperors of India, Aurungzebe, whose pride equalled his greatness and compassed his fall, once had occasion to invite to his Court the young Maharajah of Jaipur, in order to settle a difference. When the Maharajah entered the great throne room at Delhi, alone and unattended, passing through the ranks of the courtiers and chieftains of the Emperor, Aurungzebe rose to greet him and took between his own two hands the outstretched hand of his guest. "Now, Maharajah," said the Emperor, "I hold you within my hands, and here are my warriors. What will you do?" No thing daunted, the brave Rajput said, "Sire, when a man takes a woman by one hand he gives her his all. You, the Emperor of India, take me with both hands. What have I to fear?"

One word more. Do not let us forget that we have now the Permanent Court of International Justice to adjust our differences, great and small. We can await with confidence their decision on this last incident, so let us bury the inhuman past and resuscitate the bright dawn of 1920, which saw the birth of this Assembly, the latest and the last hope of civilisation and humanity.

ANNEX VI.—*Statement by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, 28th September, on the dispute between Italy and Greece.*

The Indian Delegation is much gratified to express its full approbation of the decision of the Council, which it considers both conciliatory and wise and as worthy of the dignity of the League of Nations. I feel sure that this decision will have a reception in all the nations and amongst all the peoples worthy of its wisdom.

ANNEX VII.—*Speech by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, in the Assembly, 22nd September, on the reductions in the Budget of the Technical Organisations of the League.*

Before the debate on the work of the Second Committee is opened and before the *rapporteurs* present to the Assembly the resolutions proposed by that Committee, which deal with several technical organisations of the League, I think it would be well for me, as Chairman of the Committee, to say a few words in order to convey to the Assembly the general impression which our discussions—very excellent discussions—in the Committee left upon our minds.

The Second Committee found its task of reviewing the work of the technical organisations an exceedingly interesting one. The work of these organisations comprises on the one hand many and important results already achieved, and on the other hand important preparatory steps giving promise of future success. The Committee was much impressed, not only by the value of the actual work done by the organisations, but also—and perhaps even more so—by the close association between the activities of these technical organisations and the activities of other organs of the League.

In the world today there is no international problem which has not a technical side. Technical competence is absolutely a *sine qua non* of the successful conduct of international business. Consequently, any diminution of the activity of the technical organisations, any cessation in the development of their activity, must, on the one hand, involve a halting up of the general success of the League, and, on the other, hinder progress in the direction of international co-operation and a settlement of disputes.

The reports on the discussions of the Fourth—the Finance—Committee are not yet before us. We know, however, that that Committee will report in favour of extensive reductions in the budget of the technical organisations. One must not set one Committee at variance with another, and far be it from me to oppose any reductions which may be proposed.

I am an advocate of economy, and I bow before the inevitable; but it is my duty to ask the Assembly to realise fully the extent of the sacrifices which we may accept, and to consider their effects. In the budget of the Economic and Financial Organisation, I understand there is to be a complete cut of the appropriation for the meeting of a general conference. Hence, no conference of this kind can be held next year. But it is clear from our investigations that, in various spheres, real and genuine progress cannot be achieved without an international conference.

With regard to the proposals now made by the Second Committee on Health questions, these have, in effect, already been approved by a previous Assembly. The resolutions proposed do not imply any expenditure which has not the approval of the Fourth Committee. But I ought to point out to you that, in the budget of the Health Organisation, the sums initially proposed for the carrying out of enquiries have been very considerably reduced. I am informed that this will have the effect of making it impossible to carry further the studies already begun on cancer and malaria. This point is all the more worthy of grave consideration since, on the proposal of the Second Committee, the Assembly has already decided on the final constitution of the Health Organisation of the League, and the Health Committee, which is a part of this constitution, is specially designed and intended as the organ of enquiry, investigation and preparatory study.

As to the organisation for Communications and Transit, the sum proposed for regional conferences has been cut out.

Let me be quite clear. I am not advocating the replacement of these sums in the budget—not at all. But I desire to apprise you fully of the gravity of the decisions as to financial cuts. The technical organisations must suffer in power and potentiality. Public opinion is very busy and very exacting in regard to the League of Nations. Public opinion no doubt is well advised; but public opinion should recognise that in the field of international questions no solution of a problem can be merely improvised. The value of the work of the League depends entirely on the value of the preparatory work, and the technical organisations are above all concerned with and responsible for preparatory work.

As to the actual work of the organisations and their programmes of future work, these I leave to the distinguished *Rapporteur* appointed by the Second Committee.

ANNEX VIII.—*Statement by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, in the Assembly, 28th September, on the allocation of the expenditure of the League.*

The resolution before the Assembly renews, with slight modifications for 1921, the scale which was approved for 1922 only. The Indian Delegation will abstain from voting on the present resolution. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain the reason of India's abstention. The Government of India is ready to acquiesce in the temporary renewal of the scale. It will do so in a spirit of co-operation and from a desire to avoid making its own point of view a cause of difficulty to this Assembly. But the Government of India is anxious, firstly, that this acquiescence this year should not be interpreted to mean that India is satisfied with the incidence of the present scale proposed in the resolution, and, secondly, my Government is anxious that India should make it clear that she reserves full liberty to object to the present proposed scale at the Assembly of 1921 should there then be a proposal to continue this scale.

APPENDIX V.

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Notes that, up to the present, the Convention on the Supervision of the International Trade has been ratified by only two signatory countries, and hopes that the efforts which are being made to obtain the ratification of the principal producing countries will soon be successful;

Notes the work which has been carried out under the direction of the Council with regard to the supervision of private manufacture;

Declares that it is in agreement with the Council as regards the connection which exists between this question and the whole problem now being examined by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

Lays stress upon the necessity of concluding a Convention as soon as possible, though it recognises that priority must be accorded to work in connection with the Convention on Disarmament;

And proposes that the Council should continue its enquiries regarding private manufacture, in order that these questions may be included in the programme of the Disarmament Conference, if this Conference can be convened before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, or, if that is impossible, in order that a special Conference may be convened as soon as possible to deal with the matter.

Subjects referred to Fourth Committee (Financial Questions).

Chairman: M. Titulesco (Roumania). *Representatives of India:* Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar.

ADMITTED ACCOUNTS AND BUDGET OF THE LEAGUE, AND OTHER FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

38. The Fourth Committee appointed M. Oldenburg (Denmark) to be its general *rappor-teur* on financial questions; also a Sub-Committee, over which M. Vasconcellos (Portugal) presided, to consider separately the question of contributions of Member States in arrears. The examination of the General Budget of the League, the Secretariat and Special Organisations, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice, was the chief task of the Committee. It was greatly assisted in its work by the able reports of the Supervisory Commission (of which Lord Meston is a member). In addition to adopting the items already entered in the Budget with the approval of the Supervisory Commission, the Committee had to examine numerous recommendations received from other Committees of the Assembly for the grant of additional credits to enable the League to carry out new work proposed for the approval of the Assembly.

39. In paras. 68 and 69 of our Interim Report we have described the action taken by Sir Rama-swami Ayyar with a view to ensuring the application of sound principles of finance in the examination of the Budget. His speech is reproduced in Appendix III. The Budget for 1927 balances at 24,512,341 gold francs as compared with 22,950,633 gold francs for 1926. But the League was virtually committed to this increase by the discussions at the Special Assembly (March 1926)^c on certain proposals of the Secretary-General for reorganisation of his staff and for the provision of an adequate number of new posts for German nationals. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly on the modifications proposed to be made in the 1927 Budget as a result of its examination and the adoption of certain supplementary credits. This report shows that the Fourth Committee, inspired by the principles of economy enunciated in Sir Ramaswami Ayyar's resolution, examined the proposals for new expenditure with the utmost care and in certain cases rejected them.

40. The General Report to the Assembly adopted by the Fourth Committee is also reproduced in Appendix II. Special attention is invited to this document, which summarises briefly but clearly the work undertaken by the Fourth Committee, and gives special prominence to the resolution proposed by the Indian Delegation. Apart from the questions referred to in this Report and in our Interim Report on the work of the Fourth Committee, attention should be drawn to the following matters:

(a) Proposed Arrangement for Development of Information Work in India.

41. In para. 28 (D) of the Interim Report of the Indian Delegation to the Sixth Assembly mention was made of a suggestion put forward by Sir Atul Chatterjee in the Fourth Committee that an Information Office of the League, similar to that established in Tokio, should be inaugurated in India. The Secretary-General, who promised Sir Atul Chatterjee at the time that he would consider this suggestion, informed us towards the end of the Assembly Session that certain suggestions had since been under discussion in the Secretariat in order to carry out the object of Sir Atul Chatterjee's proposal. The views of the Government of India on Sir Atul Chatterjee's

^c See Report of Indian Delegation to Special Session of Assembly (March 1926), page 6.

proposal at the Sixth Assembly had not been communicated to us and time was too short to obtain orders on the Secretary-General's suggestions. Therefore no proposal was made by the Indian Delegation.

(b) *Effect of Repayment from the Building Fund on the Contribution of India to the League.*

42. We mentioned in para. 71 of our Interim Report that arrangements had been made to refund to individual States Members a proportionate amount, based on their contribution, out of the surplus accumulated by the League over and above its actual expenditure. The surplus, which has been allowed to accumulate, is being employed to pay for part of the cost of the erection of an Assembly Hall and Secretariat which was approved at the Special Session³ of the Assembly (March 1926). The amount in hand is approximately 11,500,000 gold francs, and it is proposed that a sum of 1,400,000 gold francs shall be refunded annually over a period of years to the States which contributed to create the surplus. Of this sum India will receive approximately £3,700 per annum. India's contribution under the existing allocation scheme to the 1927 Budget would be about £54,000 a year. It will, however, be reduced by this means to a little over £50,000.

(c) *Posts for Indians in the Secretariat and International Labour Organisation.*

43. We reproduce in Appendix III a speech of Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in which he represented the desirability of employing more Indians in posts at Geneva. We have referred to this matter in para. 70 of our Interim Report. The present number of posts assigned to Indians is clearly incompatible with India's financial and other contributions to the League. At the same time it has to be borne in mind that the Secretary-General and Director-General of the International Labour Office have few vacancies to fill now that the cadres have been stabilised. The Secretary-General undertook, during the Committee discussions, that while as a general rule he must reserve posts for précis-writers, translators and stenographers for the nationals of English-speaking or French-speaking countries, he would continue to endeavour to ensure that higher posts were distributed as far as possible among the nationals of the various States Members of the League. It was impossible to obtain a more specific promise from him on this point.

44. The Assembly adopted on 25th September the following Resolution:—

The Assembly:

1. In virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the seventh financial period, ending December 31st, 1925;

2. In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, approves, for the financial year 1927, the general Budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total amount of which, including supplementary credits, is 24,512,341 gold francs, and decides that the said budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*;

3. Adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration;

4. Approves the schedule showing the proportional interest of each Member of the League in the League Building Fund;

5. Fixes at 79 the number of units allocated to Germany in the scale of apportionment of the League's expenditure;

6. Adopts the conclusions of the Report of the Fourth Committee;

7. Notes that the Internal Control Service of the League of Nations experiences difficulty and is caused considerable trouble by the fact that members of Committees and other persons who have to submit requests for repayment do not always take into consideration the exact terms of the various Regulations governing the financial administration of the League of Nations, and, therefore, requests members of Committees and all other persons performing work of any kind whatever at the request and at the expense of the League of Nations to comply strictly with the above Regulations, and, in case of doubt, to apply for information beforehand to the competent officials;

8. While appreciating the results of the sale of publications and approving the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General relative to the extension of these sales and a stricter supervision of the employment of the grants for printing;

Decides to draw the attention of the Advisory Committees and the Conferences convened by the League to the heavy expense entailed by the publication of their minutes and requests them to consider whether the publication of their discussions would not frequently be better effected by means of a detailed report giving as exactly as possible an account of their work;

* See Report of Indian Delegation to Special Assembly (March 1926), para. 20.

Besides that the minutes of Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General.

Requests the Supervisory Commission to report to it again next year on the printing expenses and to indicate the saving effected in consequence of this decision.

15. The table below enables a comparison to be made at a glance of the chief items of this year's budget with those of the budgets of preceding years.

The following table shows, under the main heads, the Expenditure for 1925, the Budget for 1926, the Estimates for 1927 and the Budget for 1927, adopted by the Assembly after examination in the Fourth Committee:—

A. Secretariat and Special Organisations.

Part I. Current Expenditure.

	Expenditure, 1925	Budget, 1926	Estimates, 1927	Budget, 1927.
I. Salaries and wages of Secretaries, etc.	6,111,000	6,111,000	6,111,000	6,111,000
II. Office expenses, including postage, etc.	722,000	1,025,000	980,000	967,500
III. General expenses, including rent, etc.	5,151,000	6,569,000	7,115,619	7,208,274
IV. Special expenses, including printing, etc.	3,481,800	4,770,970	5,117,566	5,197,666
V. Depreciation of buildings, etc.	119,271	—	—	—

Part II. Capital Expenditure.

VI. Buildings, etc.	141,138	168,000	188,000	188,000
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B. International Labour Organisation.

Expenditure on the International Labour Organisation, including the International Labour Office, etc.	6,654,451	7,000,000	7,574,165	7,606,180
Expenditure on the International Labour Office, etc.	848,000	750,000	912,000	910,000

Total expenditure for 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1927, respectively, 14,415,529, 14,415,529, 14,415,529, 14,415,529. Amount to be included in the Budget for 1927, 14,415,529.

C. Permanent Court of International Justice.

Expenditure on the Permanent Court of International Justice, including the Court, etc.	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,122,947	1,122,947
Expenditure on the Court, etc.	2,571	7,200	20,800	20,800

D. Buildings at Geneva.

Expenditure on buildings at Geneva, including the Secretariat, etc.	1,415,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000
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E. Working Capital Fund.

Working Capital Fund, including the Secretariat, etc.	1,417	—	—	—
Total expenditure for 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1927, respectively, 14,415,529, 14,415,529, 14,415,529, 14,415,529.	14,415,529	14,415,529	14,415,529	14,415,529

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

46. The Assembly was informed that a sum of 6,613,000 gold francs was owing on 31st August 1926 from various States Members of the League. Of this sum China's debt alone amounted to 1,670,881 gold francs. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider what steps should be taken in this matter, which proposed, and on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee the Assembly on 25th September adopted, the following Resolution:

1. To request the Secretary-General, as the result of previous negotiations, to write off from the accounts of the League the sum of 22,471 gold francs due from Persia for the financial year 1925;
2. To request the Secretary-General—

(a) To give his support, when necessary, to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears;

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(b) To submit to the Council at its session of June 1927 a detailed report on the position with regard to contributions in arrears;

3. Requests China to propose effective and concrete methods, acceptable to the League of Nations, with a view to the payment of her contributions in arrears;

4. Requests the Council to cause a study to be made of the legal position of States which do not pay their contributions to the League of Nations, with a view to giving the Assembly information on the matter at its eighth ordinary session.

47. Speaking in the Assembly on the resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee, M. Hambro (Norway) drew attention, in a speech which we reproduce in Appendix IV, to the extreme haste with which the work of the Fourth Committee had had to be performed in order to enable it to finish examining the Budget before the date on which the Assembly session was required to end. He mentioned that there had been insufficient time to print some of the reports adopted in the Committee which were required under the Rules of Procedure to be before the Assembly when taking its decisions. Similar protests were made on the same day by Lord Cecil, by Dr. Nansen (Norway), and by Count Moltke (Denmark). They considered that the duration of the Assembly should not be less than four weeks, and that the premature termination of the session had resulted in work having to be unduly hurried, to its prejudice. This matter has already been referred to in para. 5 of our Interim Report. It seems probable that notice will be taken at the next Assembly of the protests made on this occasion.

Subjects referred to Fifth Committee (Social and General Questions).

Chairman: Count Mensdorff (Austria). *Representatives of India:* H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir Basanta Mullick.

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

48. The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs at its session in May/June 1926 adopted the following Resolutions:—

I. The Committee, after examining the information before it relating to the illicit traffic, points out the gravity of the present situation. Considerable seizures of the manufactured drugs and of opium continue to be made, and there is no doubt that the drugs continue to be manufactured on a scale vastly in excess of the world's medical and scientific requirements. Pending the coming into operation of the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925, it is extremely difficult to secure an effective control of the international traffic, and the Committee desires to urge as strongly as possible that all States should complete their ratification without delay in order that the machinery of control provided for by the Convention may be brought into operation during the present year. It is, in particular, important to secure ratification by the States Members of the Council in view of the provisions of Articles 36 and 19.

II. The Committee recommends that the administrations called upon to decide on an application for export of drugs to a country not applying a system of import authorisations should endeavour to ascertain whether the application submitted to them is a legitimate one. This recommendation is made in the spirit which inspired Article 18 of the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925.

III. The Committee requests the Council to draw the attention of those States Members of the League of Nations and Parties to the Hague Convention which do not regularly send in annual reports on the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, or whose reports are incomplete, to the great importance that the Advisory Committee attaches to the regular receipt of full reports, which are the only means by which the Committee can keep informed on the international traffic.

IV. The Committee recommends that the Governments, in their annual reports to the League, should be asked to state the total quantities of each of the drugs (including opium) seized by their authorities during the year, taking care to distinguish the seizures made by the Customs authorities from other seizures.

V. The Committee desires to draw the attention of the Council to the desirability of obtaining from all countries producing coca the statistics provided for in Article 22 of the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925, in so far as they relate to the export of this raw material and of crude cocaine.

The Committee requests the Council to ask the Secretary-General to approach the Governments of those producing States which have not yet supplied these statistics with a view to obtaining this information.

VI. In view of the fact that Turkey has not yet adhered to the Hague Convention and that a control over the export of opium from Turkey in accordance with the provisions of the Convention is not, so far as the Committee is aware, being exercised by the Government of that country;

In view also of the resolution of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations calling attention to the fact that the Government of Turkey has undertaken in the Treaty of Lausanne to adhere to the Convention:

The Committee asks the Council to request the Government of Turkey to adhere to the Convention as soon as possible.

VII. The Committee has again examined the situation in regard to the export of opium from the Persian Gulf to the Far East. The bulk of the opium exported from the Gulf continues to be sent to the Far East under false declaration of destination and undoubtedly finds its way into the illicit traffic. The Committee notes that the recommendation made by it in para. (b) of Resolution II of its Report for 1925, that Powers whose ships are engaged in traffic with the Persian Gulf should adopt measures to control the conveyance of opium from the Persian Gulf on such ships and to prevent its diversion into

the illicit traffic, has not been carried out except by one of the States whose ships are engaged in the traffic with the Far East. The result has been that, while the measures taken by the latter Power have prevented the traffic from being carried on in the ships of that Power, the traffickers continue to carry it on in the ships of other countries. It accordingly asks the Council to make urgent representations to the Governments of the countries whose ships were engaged in the traffic during the past year to take the necessary measures for the control of the traffic. Further, the Committee recommends that the Governments of Powers having extra-territorial rights in Persia should be asked to institute a control over their nationals in Persia on the lines of the regulations already made by some Powers in order to prevent their engaging in the illicit traffic in opium.

VIII. The Committee desires to call special attention to the steps taken in Great Britain in regard to maritime insurance with a view to preventing the insurance of consignments of opium or drugs destined for illicit purposes, and would urge that similar steps should be taken as soon as possible in other countries whose nationals undertake the business of maritime insurance.

IX. The Committee draws special attention to the evidence it has received of the extensive use of the post by illicit traffickers in morphine and the other drugs with the Far East. As this is a danger to which all countries are exposed, the Committee recommends:—

- (a) That the Council should bring the matter to the notice of all Governments and of the Universal Postal Union;
- (b) That notice of any seizure of drugs sent from abroad through the post should be sent immediately, with particulars of the place at which and the date on which the drugs were posted, to the authorities of the country from which the drugs were sent;
- (c) That a list of all such seizures and of the results of the investigations made should be included in the annual reports of the Governments to the League.

X. The Advisory Committee asks the Council to draw the attention of the Governments to the importance of direct communication between the authorities which are entrusted with the enforcement of the laws on the suppression of the illicit traffic. The Committee has already several times laid stress on this point, and the matter is dealt with in Article 3 of the Final Act of the Second Opium Conference.

Communications of this kind might be established either by exchange between these authorities of information on administrative or police measures or by direct contact between the said authorities.

XI. The Advisory Committee requests the Council to instruct the Secretary-General to ask those States which have not yet communicated their legislation on opium and drugs to do so, and to give notice of any new laws which may be promulgated.

49. We have already described in our Interim Report, paras. 78 and 79, the discussion in the Fifth Committee of the Advisory Committee's Report. We reproduce in Appendix III a speech of Sir Basanta Mullick regarding the action taken in India to control the production, distribution and export of opium, and the importance attached by India to the ratification of the Geneva Convention of 1925. The Report adopted by the Fifth Committee (with the abstention of the Italian delegate), in which the Resolutions of the Advisory Committee were approved, is reproduced in Appendix II. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 21st September:—

The Assembly:

I. Adopts the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, together with the resolutions contained therein.

II. Impressed by the report of the Advisory Committee as to the gravity of the present situation in regard to the illicit traffic and by the resolution of the Committee that it was extremely difficult to secure an effective control of the international traffic in opium and drugs until the Geneva Convention has been brought into operation, urges on the Governments of all States Members of the League to proceed to ratify or adhere to the Geneva Convention so that, if possible, the ratifications necessary to bring that Convention into force may be deposited with the Secretariat before the end of the year.

50. A discussion took place in the Committee between Prince Arfa (Persia) and Sir Basanta Mullick to which we briefly alluded in para. 79 of our Interim Report. Speaking on the drug traffic emanating from Persian Gulf ports, Prince Arfa pointed out that Persia owned no merchant vessels and alleged that the greater part of the opium in question was derived from India, being smuggled over the land frontiers. Sir Basanta Mullick replied that in the north-west of India very little opium was grown, in any case a quantity wholly insufficient to account for the large increase in illicit export from Persia to which other members of the Committee had drawn attention. Reports received by the Indian Government hitherto had shown no evidence of contraband opium having been smuggled over the Indo-Persian frontier, but he would be glad to receive, in order to be able to forward to his Government for the purpose of enquiry, any proofs of his allegations which the delegate of Persia might be able to produce. He went on to say that a similar request had been made by the Indian delegate at the Fifth Committee of the Sixth Assembly (1925), when similar allegations had been made by the Persian delegate, but that no such information had yet been furnished.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

51. The Traffic in Women and Children Committee receives and considers annual reports from States Members of the League who are parties to the White Slave Traffic Convention, 1921, and makes recommendations on other matters connected with the

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protection of women and children. The Fifth Committee adopted a report, which is reproduced in Appendix II, approving the work of this Committee, of which it mentions the main features. On 21st September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

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21 Sept.).

The Assembly :

Approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the resolutions contained in that report.

CHILD WELFARE.

52. We mentioned in paras. 75-77 of our Interim Report the chief points which arose in the discussion on the work of the Child Welfare Committee. This Committee adopted a series of resolutions, which are referred to in the Report of the Fifth Committee, reproduced in Appendix II, and also in the following Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 24th September :—

Assembly
Resolution
24 Sept.).

The Assembly :

1. Takes note of the report presented by the Child Welfare Committee and desires to express its thanks for the work done by the Committee.

2. Approves the proposals contained in Resolutions III, V, and VIII adopted by the Committee for pursuing the enquiries into the protection of infant life, the age of consent and of marriage and the subject of family allowances.

3. Approves Resolution XIV subject to the conclusions it contains being confirmed by subsequent investigations into the general problem of alcoholism.

4. Expresses its concurrence with Resolution VI relating to child labour.

5. Considers that the enquiry into children's courts can most suitably be undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee, but, in the circumstances, agrees with the course proposed to be taken by the Council in regard to Resolution XIII.

6. Expresses the wish that the Committee should actively pursue the enquiry into the effect of the cinema on children with a view to the presentation of a report for the information of the Governments.

7.—(a) Recognises the importance of recreation in the life of children and young persons as expressed in Resolution XI, but, as doubts have been expressed how far the subject is one which is suitable for action by the League of Nations, the Assembly, in view of the sanction of the study of this subject given last year by the Council and Assembly, approves its continued study by the Advisory Committee, but considers that it should be confined, as indicated in the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its fifth ordinary session, to the comparative study of those aspects of the subject on which "the comparison of the methods and experiences of different countries . . . and international co-operation" may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with these problems.

(b) Recommends that the subject of biological education, regarding which similar doubts have been expressed, should be postponed for the present.

8. Agrees generally with the resolutions adopted by the Council on June 9th and September 2nd, 1926.

53. We reproduce in Appendix II the above-mentioned resolutions of the Child Welfare Committee, and in Appendix III the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, in which he supported certain criticisms made by Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire) on the tendency of this Committee to exceed the terms of reference laid down for it in a Resolution of the Fifth Assembly (1924),^c and emphasised the danger of attempting to apply universally welfare schemes suitable only in European conditions.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

54. The Fifth Committee wished to make a further grant towards the rescue work undertaken by Miss Jeppe at Aleppo and Miss Mills at Constantinople on behalf of refugee women and children. The Fourth Committee, however, decided that no further subsidy could be afforded for the work at Constantinople or at Aleppo. Fortunately, it appears that Miss Jeppe is likely to obtain money from private sources for another year, in order to finish her work. Miss Mills also expects that her work will be concluded in 1927, and has been allowed the loan of the equipment of the house in Constantinople for another year. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 25th September :—

Assembly
Resolution
25 Sept.).

The Assembly :

1. Desires to express its admiration for the work Miss Jeppe has performed and its gratitude for the devoted way in which she has carried it out.

2. Approves Miss Jeppe's report and expresses its satisfaction with the results obtained during the course of the past year.

3. Decides that the mission for the rescue of women and children, which has been entrusted to Miss Jeppe by the League of Nations, shall be prolonged for one year more under the conditions fixed by the Assembly at its last ordinary session, that is to say, under the high authority of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations.

4. Seeing that the work of Armenian colonisation and any other work undertaken by Miss Jeppe personally in connection with the mission for the rescue of women and children entrusted to her by the League of Nations fall within the class of work entrusted by the mandatory Power, in the general interest, to a central organ representing the Refugee Service at the International Labour Office and the direction of the International Red Cross Committee, invites Miss Jeppe to come to an understanding as regards the

* See Report of Indian Delegation to Fifth Assembly, para. 49.

general direction of the work mentioned under paragraph 3, with the liaison organisation established by the mandatory Power.

5. Seeing that Miss Jeppe is of opinion that her task will be discharged during the coming year, requests her to submit to the next ordinary session of the Assembly a final report on all the results of her mission.

6. Thanks Miss Mills for her devoted and excellent work and regrets that it has not been found possible to continue the grant from the League of Nations for another year.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

55. We referred in para. 81 of our Interim Report to the discussions in the Fifth Committee on the future of the work of the High Commissioner for Refugees on behalf of Armenians and Russians. The Report of the Fifth Committee, presented by Dr. Breitscheid (Germany) to the Assembly, explains the decisions which were taken. We reproduce in Appendix III a statement, made in the Committee by Sir Basanta Mullick, of the Government of India's attitude towards the High Commissioner's scheme for the creation of a fund for the assistance of refugees by the collection of surcharges on the identity certificates issued to them. This scheme was proposed at a Conference of Governments of various countries to which refugees had migrated, held at Geneva in May 1926. As the number of Russian and Armenian refugees in India is small, it has not been found necessary to adopt in India some of the provisions of the scheme, but its main principles have been accepted. The Assembly adopted on 25th September the following Resolution:—

The Assembly:

1. Having carefully examined the reports of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office on the refugee questions:

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Approves those reports;

Expresses its high appreciation of the important work which they have accomplished for the refugees;

Expresses the opinion that this work should be prosecuted to a satisfactory conclusion in the interests both of the refugees themselves and of political, economic and social order;

2. Having regard to the precarious position of thousands of Armenian refugees in the Near East:

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and the High Commissioner for Refugees to consider the possibility of making an effective response to the appeals for their co-operation in the permanent settlement of these refugees and of co-ordinating the activities of private organisations working for the refugees;

Urges the Governments of the States Members to further the settlement of unemployed Russian and Armenian refugees by giving notice as soon as possible of their ratification of the Arrangement drawn up by the Inter-Governmental Conference on May 12th, 1926, particularly as regards contributions to the working capital fund ("revolving fund") and the issue of visas to refugees on the recommendation of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office; and

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to appoint a co-trustee to be responsible jointly with Dr. Nansen for the administration of the fund in question;

3. Considering the necessity of maintaining a delegation of the Refugee Service in Berlin in view of the large number of refugees in Germany:

Takes note of the possibility of a contribution of one-half the cost being made by the German Government;

Decides to increase the Refugee budget by 18,750 francs in order that the important delegation of the Refugee Service may be maintained in Berlin.

EXTENSION TO OTHER ANALOGOUS CATEGORIES OF REFUGEES OF THE MEASURES TAKEN TO ASSIST RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

56. Opportunity was taken by the German Delegation to suggest during this discussion the possibility of extending to other classes of unemployed persons the facilities of the organisation set up, with assistance from the International Labour Office, to deal with unemployed Armenians and Russians. The proposal was rejected by the Fifth Committee, which, however, adopted the following Resolution, proposed by the Belgian Delegation and approved by the Assembly on 25th September:—

The Assembly invites the Council to request the High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Labour Organisation to consider how far the measures already taken to give protection to, to provide employment for, and to afford relief to, Russian and Armenian refugees can be extended to other analogous categories of refugees.

Assembly
Resolution
(25 Sept.)

SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

57. The Sixth Assembly decided that certain proposals submitted to it by the High Commissioner for Refugees for establishing 25,000 Armenians in their national home, the present Republic of Erivan, should be further considered, with reference to its financial possibilities,* before being discussed by a subsequent Assembly of the League. The Council has since considered the proposals, and the Report of the Financial Committee upon them, and has decided that it cannot associate itself with the issue of a loan for the purpose similar to those obtained for Austria, Hungary, Greece, and

* See Final Report of Indian Delegation to Sixth Assembly, para. 43.

Bulgaria. We reproduce in Appendix II the Report adopted by the Fifth Committee. The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 25th September :—

The Assembly :

1. Takes note of and adopts the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission, and expresses its appreciation of the valuable work done by this Commission in the elaboration of a workable scheme, found after careful enquiry to be technically sound, which it is estimated will result in the settlement of at least 25,000 Armenians in their national home:

2. Takes note of the Resolution of the Council of September 16th, 1926, stating that if the money to finance the initial outlay required by the scheme is forthcoming, the Council would, subject to certain conditions, and if requested to do so by the parties interested, be willing to appoint a person or persons to supervise the due expenditure of that money for the objects specified in the scheme :

3. Requests the Council to consider the possibility, after due enquiry, of setting up a small committee, under the chairmanship of a member appointed by the Council, and consisting partly of representatives of private organisations interested in the promotion of this scheme, to investigate the possibility of obtaining the sum required, and of using it for the purposes of the scheme in the Republic of Armenia :

4. Decides that a sum of 15,000 francs be allowed, subject to the conditions already set forth, in order to provide for the printing and distribution of literature regarding the proposed financial operation, and to permit Dr. Nansen, or his representative, to lay his proposals before possible contributors in Europe or America.

Subjects referred to Sixth Committee.

Chairman : M. de Brouckère, Belgium. *Representatives of India* : Sir William Vincent, Sir Edward Chamier.

MANDATES.

58. The discussion in the Sixth Committee on the observations made in the Council regarding the questionnaire sent by the Permanent Mandates Commission to the Governments of Mandatory States, and the Commission's procedure for examining petitions, has already been summarised in paras. 95 and 96 of our Interim Report. We reproduce in Appendix IV a speech by M. de Brouckère, in which he explained on what principles an agreement had been reached after discussion of the work of the Mandates Commission, in the Sixth Committee. On 25th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Having taken cognisance of the report to the Council relating to the mandated territories and of the discussion on the subject which has taken place in the Council :

And having heard the Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission :

Thanks the Permanent Mandates Commission for the devotion and zeal with which it has carried out its delicate task ;

Has confidence in the Members of this Commission, as well as in the Members of the Council, to ensure the application of the principles of Article 22 of the Covenant in a cordial spirit of co-operation with the Mandatory Powers.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

59. We have already given, in paras. 83-94 of our Interim Report, a short account of the discussions in the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention. The action taken at previous sessions of the Assembly leading up to the decision to conclude a Slavery Convention is summarised in paras. 56-62 of the Final Report of the Indian Delegation to the Sixth Assembly (1925). The draft Convention adopted for reference to Governments at the Sixth Assembly was referred, with the observations received from Governments upon it, for consideration in the Sixth Committee. The Report of the Sixth Committee, submitting certain draft resolutions and a revised draft Convention, which were adopted by the Seventh Assembly on 25th September, is reproduced in Appendix II of this Report. Two speeches made by Sir William Vincent in the Sixth Committee in the course of the discussions of the draft Convention, and his speech in the Assembly when the Convention was adopted for signature, are reproduced in Appendix III. The various detailed observations which it was found necessary to make in the course of the discussions cannot conveniently be summarised without reference to the text of the Convention and of the Committee's Report. Our own fuller commentary on the text of the Convention and the attitude adopted by the delegation towards various amendments proposed has therefore been inserted in Appendix II,* immediately after the Report of the Sixth Committee, in a separate memorandum, to which we invite attention.

RATIFICATION OF AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

53. The absence of progress in ratification of many Conventions and Agreements concluded under the auspices of the League was referred to by M. Beues (Czecho-

Slovakia) in his speech opening the Assembly session. Viscount Cecil, in his speech in the Assembly on 9th September, which is reproduced in Appendix IV, proposed that the Council should appoint a Committee to consider how ratification of Conventions could be expedited. On reference of this proposal to the Sixth Committee, a Sub-Committee was set up to consider what action could properly be taken by the Assembly, and on its recommendation the Sixth Committee adopted, and the Assembly approved on 23rd September, the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Observing with regret that many Conventions and Agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective, or have only come into force after undue delay, owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories ;

Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of Conventions and Agreements signed in their name ;

And decides to invite the Council of the League to call for a report every six months on the progress of ratification and to consider methods for securing the more rapid bringing into force of these Agreements and Conventions.

Assembly
Resolution
(23 Sept.).

Miscellaneous Questions.

INCIDENTS AT WAHNSIEN.

61. We cannot omit reference to a speech made in the Assembly on 24th September by M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China), regarding certain incidents which had occurred this summer at Wahnsien on the River Yangtse. M. Chao-Hsin Chu obtained leave to address the Assembly in order to make a declaration of the intention of the Chinese Government to present a complete set of the Chinese Encyclopædia, when reprinted, to the League of Nations' library. He, however, took the opportunity to give his own version of the events at Wahnsien. British merchant ships, he said, on various dates in July and August last wrecked a number of Chinese wooden craft and small boats on the River Yangtse near Wahnsien. Over 100 passengers had been drowned. A British cruiser had threatened the villagers with bombardment and prevented an official enquiry. On 5th September a British gunboat had opened fire on Wahnsien and killed over 100 police. Other British vessels of war had subsequently bombarded the town and over 1,000 civilian lives had been lost. He stated that the Chinese Delegation had been instructed by its Government to bring this matter to the notice of the Assembly.

Viscount Cecil obtained leave to speak after M. Chao-Hsin Chu, and expressed his astonishment at the statement of the Chinese delegate. The British Government had received no notice that the matter would be raised, and he regretted that this very strange procedure prevented him from replying in any detail to the allegations made. He was sufficiently acquainted with the facts, however, to say that the British Delegation did not in any way agree with the statement of the Chinese delegate, and that its view of the incident was entirely different. The matter was the subject of negotiation in China, and it was hoped that a peaceful issue would be found. Statements such as had just been made by the Chinese delegate were not, however, likely in any way to assist a friendly settlement.

62. At the next meeting of the Assembly the President called attention to Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure, which contains the following provision :—" At the beginning of each meeting the President shall present to the Assembly all communications addressed to the Assembly or to the League, the importance of which appears to him to warrant such action," and to Rule 15, para. 1, which provides that " No representative may address the Assembly without having previously obtained the permission of the President." M. Nintchitch went on to say that, while it was his duty to show himself liberal in granting permission to any delegation to address a communication to the Assembly, it was the duty of each delegation to enable him to give his permission with a full knowledge of the facts. He should, therefore, be informed in advance of the subject and nature of the communications desired to be made. He reminded the Assembly of these provisions in order that all delegations might, in future, conform to them.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

63. In accordance with a decision of the Sixth Assembly,* the proposals submitted by the Preparatory Committee appointed by the Council for establishing an International Relief Union were referred back to the Committee for reconsideration in the

* See Final Report of Indian Delegation to Sixth Assembly, para. 25.

light of the criticisms of the scheme made by the Sixth Assembly. The Council referred the amended scheme to the Governments of States Members for their observations, and the Indian Delegation expected that there would be a further discussion on the subject at the Seventh Assembly. The Council have, however, now decided that a special conference of representatives of Governments can shortly be convened to conclude an agreement on the basis of the amended scheme. It was therefore not referred for the consideration of the Assembly.

64. The Assembly ended with the closing speech of the President on the afternoon of 25th September. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala was obliged to leave Geneva on the 21st September and Sir Ramaswami Ayyar on 24th September. The other delegates remained till the end of the session. Our general observations on the work of the Indian Delegation will be found in paras. 96-99 of our Interim Report.

(Signed) W. H. VINCENT.
JAGATJIT SINGH,
Maharaja of Kapurthala.
ABDUL QADIR.

19th November 1926.

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Substitute.—His Excellency Dr. Ferdinand Veverka (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).
- DENMARK.**—His Excellency Count C. Moltke (Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During M. Moltke's stay at Geneva M. Borgbjerg acted as substitute delegate.) His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). M. F. Borgbjerg (Minister for Social Affairs, Member of Parliament). M. Laust Moltesen (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament).
Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Andreas Oldenburg (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Government Representative accredited to the League of Nations). M. Peter Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister for Defence, Member of Parliament). M. Holger Andersen (Member of Parliament). Mlle. Henni Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women, Member of the Central Administration of the International Council of Women).
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.**—Dr. Tulio Franco Franco (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, Rome and Brussels).
- ESTHONIA.**—His Excellency Dr. Friedrich Akel (Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Head of State, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). General Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and National Defence, former Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army). M. Auguste J. Schmidt (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- FINLAND.**—His Excellency M. Emile Setälä (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Carl Johan Alexis Euckell (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Brussels, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Waldemar Erich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate of Finland accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Eino Rudolf Woldemar Holsti (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tallinn, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).
Substitutes.—M. Väinö Voionmaa (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Helsinki). M. Hugo Valvanne (Secretary of Legation).
- FRANCE.**—His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Paul-Boncour (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister, President of the Higher Council for National Defence). M. Jules Pams (Senator, former Minister).
Substitutes.—M. Henry de Jouvenel (Senator, former Minister). M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister). M. François Labrousse (Senator).
Assistant Delegates.—M. Léon Jouhaux (Secretary-General of the General Labour Confederation). M. Marcel Plaisant (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Joseph Barthélemy (Professor at the Faculty of Law in Paris, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Serot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Paul Bastid (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. René Cassin (Professor at the Faculty of Law at Lille, Honorary President of the Union of the Mutilated and former Combatants).
- GERMANY.**—Dr. Stresemann (Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Reich). Dr. von Schubert (Under Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Gaus (Ministerial Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
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- GREECE.**—His Excellency M. D. Caelamianos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. S. Polychroniadis (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade). M. Vassili Dendramis (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the Secretariat of the League of Nations).
- GUATEMALA.**—Dr. Francisco A. Figueroa (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris). M. Rafael Pinéda de Mont (Legal Adviser at the Legation in Paris).
- HAITI.**—His Excellency M. Alfred Nemours (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).
- HUNGARY.**—His Excellency M. Louis Walkó (Minister for Foreign Affairs). General Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Count Khuen Héderváry (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).
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- INDIA.**—Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, former Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General of India). Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir (former President of the Legislative Council of the Punjab).
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IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Mr. Ernest Blythe (Finance Minister). Mr. Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt. (Member of Parliament, former Minister of Education).

Substitutes.—Mr. Michael MacWhite (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations). Mr. Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., Ph.D. (Professor of International Law at the National University of Ireland).

Substitute and Secretary.—Mr. Joseph P. Walshe (Secretary-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

ITALY.—His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja (Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Dino Grandi (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Longare (Ambassador, Senator).

Assistant Delegates.—His Excellency Marquis Giuseppe Medici del Vascello (Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency General Stendardo di Rigioglio (Senator, Honorary Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Stefano Cavazzoni (former Labour Minister, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Ernesto Belloni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Massimo Pilotti (Member of the Court of Appeal). Captain Fabrizio Ruspoli. Count Manfredi Gravina.

JAPAN.—His Excellency Viscount K. Ishii (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in France, Representative of Japan on the Council of the League of Nations, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Minéiteirô Adatei (Ambassador to Belgium, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency M. Matsuzo Nagai (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden).

Substitutes.—M. Isaburo Yoshida (Counsellor of Embassy in London). His Excellency M. Naotake Sato (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Poland). His Excellency M. Yotaro Sugimura (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Japanese Office accredited to the League of Nations).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Vilis Schumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). His Excellency M. Fridrichs Vesmans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). M. Charles Duzmans (Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

LIBERIA.—His Excellency Baron Rodolphe Auguste Lehmann (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—M. Nicolas Ooms (First Secretary of Legation in Paris).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency M. Vincas Sidzikauskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). M. Bronius K. Balutis (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Oscar V. de Milosz-Milasius (Resident Minister, Honorary Counsellor at the Legation in Paris).

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies.) M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the City of Luxembourg).

Substitute.—M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency Jonkheer J. London (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden). His Excellency Count F. A. C. van Lynden van Sandenburg (Doctor of Law and Political Science, former Government Commissioner in the Utrecht Province, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General, Grand Chamberlain of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands).

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former President of the Order of Barristers at the Hague, Member of the Second Chamber of the States). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam).

NEW ZEALAND.—The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C. (Member of the Executive Council, former Prime Minister and Attorney-General). The Hon. Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London, former Minister for Education and Justice, former Postmaster-General).

NICARAGUA.—Dr. Antoine Sottile (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Minister in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo). M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Storting). M. Benjamin Vogt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). Mme. Martha Larsen Jahn. M. Jacob Worm-Müller (Doctor of Philosophy, Professor at the University of Oslo).

PANAMA.—His Excellency Dr. Eusebio A. Morales (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Minister for the Interior, Professor of Law at the Panama National Faculty of Law, Finance Minister). His Excellency M. Guillermo Andrevé (Former Minister for Education, Minister Plenipotentiary in Colombia).

PARAGUAY.—Dr. Ramon V. Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PERSIA.—His Highness Prince Arfa (Ambassador, former Minister for Justice, Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Abolghacem Khan Amid (former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Minister at Rome).

Substitute.—Dr. Edmond Privat (Adviser to the Delegation).

Substitute and Secretary.—M. Mohamed Khan Chayesteh (First Secretary of Legation at Berne).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Henri Strasburger (Minister Plenipotentiary, Commissioner-General of the Republic of Poland at Danzig, former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Chacinski (Member of the Diet). M. Jean Debski (Vice-Marshal of the Diet, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee). M. Thadée Jackowski (Director of the Political Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. L. Stanislas Patek (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Stanislas Posner (Senator). Professor Michel Rostworowski (Dean of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague). M. Eustache Rudzinski (Member of the Diet).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Bethencourt Rodrigues (Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Minister in France). (During His Excellency Dr. Rodrigues' stay at Geneva, M. Ferreira acted as substitute delegate). His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister Plenipotentiary in charge of the League of Nations Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency General Alfredo Freire d'Andrade (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Governor of Mozambique). His Excellency Dr. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira (Minister in Switzerland).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—Dr. R. Y. Rodrigues (former Minister, former Governor of the Colonies).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Jean Mitileneu (Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During His Excellency M. Mitileneu's stay at Geneva, M. Negulesco acted as substitute delegate.) His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, former Finance Minister). His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Comméne (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). M. Démètre Negulesco (Deputy Judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice, Professor at the University of Bucharest, Associate Member of the Institute of International Law).

Special Delegate.—His Excellency M. Constantin Cottezco (Minister Plenipotentiary, Roumanian Delegate on the European Danube Commission and on the International Danube Commission).

Substitutes.—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy). M. Sextil Pascariu (Professor at the University of Cluj). M. B. Catargi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. T. Gustavo Guerrero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France and Italy).

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency Dr. Momtchilo Nintchitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Stéphan Raditch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Justice). His Excellency Dr. Lazare Markovitch (former Minister).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch (Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. Georges Djouritch (Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Assistant Delegates.—M. Ranslav M. Avramovitch (Engineer, former Assistant Minister at the Ministry for Transport). Dr. Youraj Krnyevitch (former Under Secretary of State).

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister at Paris). His Highness Prince Vipulya Svastivongs (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm).

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Jacobus Stephanus Smit (High Commissioner in London). Mr. Seymour-Jacklin.

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. Jonas Eliel Löfgren (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Baron E. T. Marks von Wurtemberg (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the Sven Court of Appeal). Dr. J. L. Widell (Senator).

Substitutes.—Baron A. Th. Adelswärd (former Finance Minister). His Excellency Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. J. A. Engberg (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell (Master of Law).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Vice-President of the Federal Council, Head of the Political Department). Colonel Beat Henri Bolli (Member of the Council of States). M. Emile Louis Gandard (National Councillor).

Substitute.—M. Walther Bueckhardt (Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Berne).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency M. Juan Carlos Blanco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Representative of Uruguay on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Benjamin Fernandez y Medina (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid).

Substitute.—His Excellency M. Enrique Buero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Minister for the Interior, former Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome). His Excellency M. Diogenes Esculante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. C. Parra-Pérez (former Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission to the Swiss Federal Council, Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the First Committee on the draft Resolution proposed by M. Hambro (Norway), regarding the appointment by the Council of a Committee to examine certain questions relating to the election of Non-Permanent Members of the Council. (Rapporteur: M. Zahle, Denmark.)*

On 15th September 1926 the following draft Resolution was proposed by M. Hambro, delegate of Norway :—

The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee :

- (1) To study the question of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general, as regards the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.
- (2) To report on the method of election of the non-permanent Members in sufficient time to lay the question before the Assembly at its next ordinary session.

The draft Resolution submitted by M. Hambro was considered by the First Committee at its meeting on 23rd September.

At this meeting the Norwegian delegate on the First Committee submitted a modified draft Resolution, the text of which, having been adopted by the First Committee, is herewith submitted for approval by the Assembly :—

The Assembly requests the Council to instruct the Secretariat to study the system of the single transferable vote and of the principle of proportional representation in general, in connection with the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, in order that this question may be laid before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

ANNEX II.—*Report of the First Committee on the Interpretation of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant. (Rapporteur: M. Barthélemy, France.)*

On 14th September 1926 the Assembly referred to its First Committee a proposal by the British Delegation, as follows :—

The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with.

During discussion in the First Committee, the British delegate withdrew his proposal for the appointment of a Committee of the Council, basing his withdrawal on various considerations, more particularly on the desire to avoid the expense which would be incurred by the meeting of this Committee at Geneva outside the sessions of the Assembly.

The British delegate submitted to the First Committee a memorandum setting forth the arguments in support of the other parts of the proposal.

After a full discussion, which maintained a very high level, the First Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Having considered with the deepest interest Viscount Cecil's proposal and the memorandum of the British Delegation annexed to the present Resolution ;*

Shares the feelings which inspired these two documents ;

Recognises that the League of Nations should avoid dissipating its activity upon subjects which might divert it from its lofty mission of promoting the peace of the world and facilitating co-operation between nations for the peaceful progress of mankind ;

Recommends that each body forming part of the League, before taking into consideration any proposal submitted to it, should satisfy itself that the proposal is in accordance with the objects of the League as indicated by the Covenant, and possesses real importance from the point of view of the attainment of those objects ;

Decides that in case of doubt, and if so requested by a member of the body, the question shall be submitted to the Council in the interval between the sessions of the Assembly, and, during those sessions, to the Committee appointed by the Assembly for legal and constitutional questions.

The present Resolution shall be brought by the Secretary-General to the knowledge of the various bodies forming part of the League.

ANNEX.—*Memorandum by the British Delegation, dated 16th September 1926, on Viscount Cecil's Resolution.†*

In the Sixth and Seventh Ordinary Sessions of the Assembly, as well as earlier, questions have been raised as to whether particular proposals did not go beyond the sphere of action of the League. The phrase "sphere of action of the League," as used in Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, is nowhere defined, but its meaning may be gathered from various passages in that document.

The wording of Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant is sufficient to show that a matter may fall within the sphere of action of the League even though it does not affect the peace of the world. Both the Assembly and the Council are authorised at their meetings to deal with any matter "within

* See Annex.

† "The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with."

the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." The first phrase would be superfluous if the activities of the League were limited to matters relating to peace and war.

On the other hand, its activities are limited to matters of international concern. Thus, in the Preamble of the Covenant, it is stated to have been agreed to for the purpose of (1) promoting *international co-operation*, and (2) achieving *international peace and security*. Again, Articles 8-17 inclusive consist of various provisions declared to be essential for the maintenance of peace and "the good understanding between nations." No one questions that these are within the sphere of the League.

They deal primarily with armaments, aggression and international disputes which may be likely to lead to a breach of the peace. But it is to be noted that, even in a dispute likely to lead to a rupture, if the matter "is solely within the jurisdiction" of one of the parties, the Council is not to attempt to pronounce upon its merits.

Further, by the Preamble, international co-operation is to be promoted by: first, open diplomacy; secondly, observing international law; and, thirdly, maintaining justice and a scrupulous respect for treaties in the dealings of organised peoples *with one another*. All these presuppose international relations. Diplomacy is only concerned with the relations of Governments. International law only comes into play as between different Governments or their nationals, and the last heading is specifically limited to the dealings of organised peoples *with one another*.

It is worth noting that this last clause of the Preamble as to maintaining justice in the dealings of organised peoples with one another, though containing two phrases, is again restricted in its operation by Articles 23 and 24 of the Covenant, by which the obligations of Members of the League with regard to a variety of matters which primarily are matters of national concern are to be carried out in conformity with international conventions present or future. This shows that the two phrases of the last clause of the Preamble must be read together and not separately.

The activities of the League may be roughly divided into its political functions and its non-political, the political functions including the administrative duties which have been cast upon the League.

The administrative duties now exercised by the League all originate in special treaty provisions, such as those in connection with the Saar (Treaty of Versailles, Article 49), Mandates (Covenant, Article 22), Minorities (various special treaties and declarations).

All the administrative duties of the League originate in special treaty provisions. Their existence, therefore, throws no light on the question of the correct interpretation of the words "sphere of action of the League."

The political activities of the League (other than its administrative functions) fall, like disarmament, into the category of questions affecting the peace of the world. Any circumstance which threatens to disturb that good understanding between nations upon which peace depends is proclaimed by Article 11 of the Covenant to be a subject which a Member of the League may bring before the Council or the Assembly. It is the element that it may be a potential source of quarrel which is important; as such it may affect the peace of the world. However much a matter of internal politics might constitute a burning question in a State, the League would have no *locus standi* to take it up unless there was reason to think that it might prejudice and disturb relations with another State. To fall within the province of the League, a political question must be international in the sense of being a potential source of quarrel.

It is in connection with non-political matters that the chief difficulty arises in deciding what is or is not within the proper function of the League.

An examination of the Articles of the Covenant shows that only Articles 23-25 deal with such matters. The earlier Articles 1-7 relate to its organisation. Articles 8-17 relate to the maintenance of peace. Articles 18-21 relate to treaties, i.e. international engagements, Article 22 to administrative work, viz. mandates, and Article 26 to amendments. Only Articles 22-25 remain to cover the social and economic activities of the League, and these Articles show the limitations of the League's action in such matters. The subjects covered by Article 23 are primarily national matters. To enable the League to intervene, there must be either a treaty or (under Article 24) an international bureau, and a bureau must of necessity be the creation of a treaty or an agreement. The sphere of the League no doubt comprises the encouragement of States to conclude treaties upon these matters, but actual intervention in national affairs is not compatible with the Covenant until such time as a treaty has been concluded. As no treaty can be concluded without the concurrence of the States which accept it, the League cannot intervene in the national affairs of any such State unless by its own action that State has consented thereto.

In most of the cases covered by Article 23, no progress can be made except by international agreement. This applies to every subject which raises questions of international communication, such as those enumerated in sub-para. (c) of Article 23. To this class also belong all the questions dealt with by the Transit Committee. Closely allied to these are the economic questions referred to in sub-para. (e) of the same Article, which include not only the questions of communication and transit there mentioned, but also such matters as tariffs and other commercial barriers. To these must be added a variety of matters dealing with commerce, such as unfair competition, commercial arbitration, &c., which are necessarily international in their character and are therefore rightly to be regulated by treaty. So, too, the conditions and hours of labour in the various countries, though from one point of view they are primarily of national interest, yet by reason of the economic unity of the world, labour conditions in one country have a very direct bearing on labour conditions in another. A more difficult case is perhaps that of health. Epidemics of infectious diseases clearly warrant international regulation by means of a treaty, since their existence in one country constitutes a danger for its neighbours. Beyond that, a more difficult ground is reached. Some matters of hygiene certainly appear national.

Questions of nutrition, housing, even cleanliness, except so far as it is a contributory cause to infectious disease, seem primarily national matters and should so remain. Again, education is evidently normally a national matter, though it may be argued that it is in the interests of peace that the population of the world may be educated in sound moral and religious principles. Certainly, text-books which glorify war and ignore the League of Nations may be justly considered to be an international danger. At the other end of the educational scale, no one would maintain that the best

method of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic was anything but a matter of national concern; and the same applies to provision for recreation, such as swimming baths and the like. Morals, too, are normally national rather than international, though deleterious literature and films, since they travel from one country to another, have an international aspect. Further, even in strictly national matters there may be, and often is, an international interest in providing by agreement for the pooling of knowledge and experience. In fighting some intractable disease, for instance, it may be very important that the knowledge of what is being done and the experiences in different countries should be collected and compared, and this is equally true of many other subjects.

In all those matters which are national in their essence, but which have a direct bearing on the well-being of populations, international interest may justify efforts to conclude international agreements for improving comparative knowledge but cannot extend to recommendations of changes in national legislation or administration. Many matters, of course, have nothing but a national interest, such as national customs, dress, food, recreations, &c.

Article 25 might at first sight appear to run counter to the principle enunciated above. In reality, it supports it. The Red Cross organisations there referred to are specifically stated to be national organisations. It was the fact that the organisations were national which necessitated a special Article of the Covenant with regard to them. If the League could concern itself with any national organisations, Article 25 would have been unnecessary.

The principle which emerges appears to be fairly clear.

In non-political matters such as those of a social or economic character, the League has no *locus standi* except (1) where a treaty has been concluded, and then, of course, the observance of the treaty is a matter of international interest; or (2) where the subject-matter has sufficient repercussion outside the frontiers of a particular State to justify consideration of the subject by the League, and in that case the efforts of the League must be directed first to securing the adoption of a suitable treaty. Without such a treaty, action by the League would constitute intervention in national affairs in a manner and to an extent not provided for by the Covenant. Thirdly, the collection and comparison of information with regard to national activities in the various States as to matters of serious interest to humanity in general may be often profitably undertaken by the League.

ANNEX III.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation.* (Rapporteur: M. Fernandez y Medina, Uruguay.)

The report of the Health Organisation of the League and that of the Secretary-General have furnished us with a detailed account of the action taken by the Health Committee in pursuance of the recommendations of the Assembly with regard to the various proposals made last year. We have had one more opportunity of realising the efficiency of the Organisation's work and the progress which has been made in this particular field of League activity, which is undoubtedly among the most interesting and the most generally appreciated by the public.

Attention must first be drawn to the universality of the Health Organisation's work; the Health Committee has succeeded during the last 12 months in establishing very close relations with the Health Administrations of the Far East. We are under an obligation, in the first instance, to the Japanese Government for all that it has done to facilitate the detailed study of its excellent health administration by a group of health officers appointed by the Health Administrations of Far Eastern countries, some of whom were the chiefs of those services. A wealth of information, a series of very careful investigations, together with the personal contact established with the Health Administrations of British India, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, Siam, French Indo-China, China, the Soviet Republic, the Far East and the Dutch Indies, will render possible a valuable system of collaboration in the solution of common problems.

Our colleague His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has already laid stress in the Assembly on the rôle which the League can play in Asia in its struggle against plague, cholera and other diseases.

Our Health Committee has succeeded in establishing a permanent system of collaboration with its Japanese colleagues, whose work deserves wider recognition, through the intermediary of a Co-ordination Committee, which draws up monographs every year based upon the research work carried out in Japan. These monographs, which are included in our series of publications, will enable the doctors of the West to become acquainted with the progress of every description achieved in Japan. This admirable system of collaboration is further strengthened by the organisation of an exchange of Japanese and Western health experts and public health officials, to whom our Health Organisation has given an opportunity of investigating certain problems of special importance to the Administrations concerned. This investigation will be carried out both in Japan and in the countries of the West, and will last for a period of nine months.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala also laid emphasis, in addressing the Assembly, upon the rôle played by the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau of Singapore, in whose work all the countries of the Far East co-operate. This first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East serves both to satisfy the immediate needs of the Administrations of the Far East, with which it co-operates in the struggle against epidemic diseases, and also to meet the requirements of the Health Administrations of all countries, whether Members of the League or not, which are thus enabled for the first time to obtain direct information with regard to epidemics arising in the East. Last year at this period, 50 ports were in telegraphic communication with the Singapore Bureau; this number has recently increased and now amounts to 108.

The Second Committee was accordingly unanimous in accepting the Japanese delegation's proposal, which was strongly supported by the proposal of the delegation of India, that an appropriation should be made in the League Budget for the expenses of the Bureau. The Committee fully realised the high importance of the work of the Bureau as the first League institution in the Far East, and the value of its activities not merely to the Health Departments of the countries in that part of the world but to all the States Members of the League.

The Advisory Committee of our Singapore Bureau is presided over by the head of the Health Administration of British India, while the Vice-Chairmen represent the Health Administrations of French Indo-China, Japan, the Dutch Indies, Siam and China. It enables the Health Committee—which has accepted the task with the consent of the Council—to initiate and co-ordinate investigations and research work bearing upon vaccination against cholera, the endemic centres of this terrible disease, and the measures to be taken to prevent the risk of the outbreak of an epidemic of pulmonary plague in Manchuria. It has also drawn our attention to the desirability of the League's taking an interest in social hygiene problems in the countries of the Far East. The annual report gives full details of this work, which is singularly deserving of encouragement and peculiarly consonant with the ideas and policy of the League of Nations.

The success of the Singapore Bureau has been definitely established, and already one can foresee the possibility of setting up other regional bureaux on the same lines, in order to facilitate the collection and distribution of epidemiological and general health intelligence.

No less successful results have been achieved in another part of the East, in Persia, thanks to the enquiry which was undertaken two years ago by the Health Committee, and to the subsequent steps which were taken.

It is not, however, only in the East that efforts have been made to encourage further collaboration between Health Services. An interchange was arranged among medical officers in the Colonial Services of Senegal, Gambia, Portuguese and French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Togoland, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Dahomey, Sierra Leone and South Africa, who visited the various colonies during several weeks in groups in order to investigate in the most detailed manner the working of the medical and public health services.

This journey threw important new light on many subjects; the mutual exchange of theory and experience gained under particularly arduous conditions will make it possible to apply in other countries the definite results obtained in most of the colonies which were visited. The direct benefit will accrue to the native inhabitants themselves. It should in particular be noted that what appears to have been most valuable to those taking part in the interchange is the examination of the results obtained by the schools for native male nurses and doctors, and by the treatment in hospitals, according to the common practice, of the sick of the native population.

On the occasion of this interchange, efforts were made to obtain the views of the sanitary and medical administrations of the colonies as to the desirability of establishing an epidemiological intelligence bureau in Western Africa in pursuance of the recommendation expressed by the last ordinary session of the Assembly.

This question is still under consideration by the Health Committee, which has decided to carry out an experiment at Algiers and proposes to put forward definite recommendations at its October Session.

In Africa again the Health Organisation is engaged, through the intermediary of an international commission composed of Belgian, British, French, German and Portuguese experts, in investigating a series of practical and theoretical problems with regard to the distribution and prevention of sleeping-sickness in Equatorial Africa. You are all aware of the great economic and general importance of this research, and you will all be ready to say that you are following with keen sympathy the often dangerous work of these scientists in the tropical bush.

It is highly desirable that the Health Organisation should show similar activity in Latin America. We may recall with satisfaction the efforts which have been made to enable health officers of Latin America to take part in the various investigations and interchanges. There is also a new step to be recorded; a Brazilian specialist has been given the opportunity of investigating in Japan, for a period of nine months, the parasitic diseases prevalent among Japanese emigrants to Brazil. The Japanese Government and the Health Committee are to be congratulated upon the proof which they have given of the practical application of the system of interchanges and individual fellowships.

The number of experts of Latin-American countries who take part in the work of the technical commissions of the Health Organisation is increasing year by year. We trust that specialists in child-welfare questions and the campaign against infant mortality will soon be attached to the group of experts which the Health Committee, in accordance with the recommendation presented by the Netherlands delegation to the last ordinary session of the Assembly, has appointed for the study of this problem of prime importance to all countries.

Infant mortality, important though it is, is only one of many problems which together make up the question of child welfare. The Committee therefore displayed the keenest interest in the proposal made by M. Veverka, delegate of Czecho-Slovakia, who is asking the Council to request the Committee to embody in its programme the study of physical training, including school hygiene, and to consider whether there are any special problems in connection with which it would be useful to undertake a comparative investigation and to co-ordinate the researches and enquiries carried out in different countries.

As long ago as 1924, Dr. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, drew the attention of the Assembly to the question of physical training, and succeeded in having a recommendation made to the Health Committee that it should consider the desirability of investigating this question. The proposals of the Cuban and Paraguayan delegations bear witness to the interest which the Latin-American countries evidently take in all such questions. It will undoubtedly be a useful step to hold a meeting in Latin America of experts representing these countries, who will, the Committee hopes, take part in the work of the body of experts appointed by the Health Committee to make an exhaustive study of the question. The Assembly will doubtless be delighted to see this idea carried out.

The Second Committee, in adopting the various resolutions (for text see page 9) proposed, does so with the intention of leaving to the Health Committee freedom to study the possibility and advisability of giving effect to the same, it being understood that such investigations will entail no expenditure beyond what is provided for in normal budgetary credits.

importance and extent of its efforts, it is sufficient to mention the two general Conferences which met, the first at Barcelona in March and April 1921 and the second at Geneva in November and December 1923, to say nothing of the numerous sessions of the Advisory and Technical Committee. The first of these Conferences dealt, among other problems, with two important questions, which were embodied in two international conventions: the question of transport in transit and the question of transport on navigable waterways of international concern.

The Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, profiting by the preparatory work of the Advisory and Technical Committee, dealt with exceedingly varied and difficult problems, and adopted four important conventions, viz. a General Convention on the International Régime of Railways, an International Convention on the Régime of Maritime Ports, a Convention relating to the Transmission in Transit of Electric Power, and a Convention relating to the Development of Hydraulic Power affecting more than one State.

The great effort of enquiry, co-ordination and adaptation which these Conventions represent has not yet been able to obtain the results which the nations expected of it, owing to the absence of certain necessary ratifications. In this connection I may again draw the attention of my colleagues to the reference to this subject contained in the following passage in the illuminating report of the Advisory and Technical Committee:—

“The Advisory and Technical Committee,

“Considering it particularly important that the Conventions signed at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, and particularly the General Convention on the International Régime of Maritime Ports, should be ratified as soon as possible,

“Requests the Assembly of the League once more to bring this point to the attention of the States which signed these Conventions or which adhered thereto subject to ratification.”

As the Assembly has before it a proposal by the honourable representative for the British Empire, Viscount Cecil, requesting that an appeal should be addressed to Governments in order to obtain the ratification of pending agreements and conventions—a proposal which covers all international agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations and which will doubtless be adopted by the Assembly—it does not seem necessary for the moment to submit to the Assembly a proposal on the lines indicated by the Advisory and Technical Committee. Only if the British draft resolution were to be rejected on account of its universal bearing would it be expedient to submit this resolution, which concerns only conventions relating to transit and communications.

The long delays which frequently attend the ratification of international pacts encouraged by the League of Nations, which delays greatly prejudice the rapid and steady development of that institution, appear in most cases to be due to formalities required by the internal public law of the various countries for the ratification of international treaties and agreements. It would therefore, perhaps, be well to invite the legal experts of the League to consider the possibility of concluding a convention between the largest possible number of countries to ensure speedier ratification through a modification of laws, regulations and parliamentary practices, without, however, prejudicing the spirit of the different constitutional statutes.

The work of the Advisory and Technical Committee has extended to many other questions. A special committee was instructed to study the problem of the unification of tonnage measurement in maritime navigation, which would prove of service to transport and an element of security to trade. Another special technical committee is at present studying questions relating to safety at sea through the possible unification of lighthouse, buoy and light-signalling systems. The question of rapid and sure communications with the seat of the League of Nations, especially in urgent cases and at times of crisis, has been, and is still being, studied by sub-committees and committees of experts in telegraphs, railways and air navigation. The Advisory Committee, although for the moment refraining from establishing permanent organisations for the study of questions affecting air navigation and telephonic, telegraphic, wireless telephonic and wireless telegraphic communication, has taken the necessary steps in order that these questions may be examined and an annual report submitted in regard to the progress made in them, in order that they may be thoroughly studied and decisions adopted as to what further action should be taken in regard to them.

Important work has also been undertaken in regard to road traffic, and its object was achieved last April at the International Conference convened by the French Government, the conclusions of this Conference marking a great advance in the sphere of international traffic.

The question of the unification of private law in inland navigation between the different European States forms the subject of investigation in keeping with the importance of this question for the development and security of traffic on navigable waterways. A committee of distinguished specialists is examining this question, particularly from the points of view of the nationality of vessels, ownership, mortgages and privileges in inland navigation, and of the rules observed in compensating owners for damage due to collisions. The enquiries of this committee may lead to very important conclusions, not only because they will contribute towards encouraging and ensuring international traffic in Europe, but because they will be able to serve as a guide to other countries and continents which desire to establish just, speedy and far-sighted legislation with regard to the use of these waterways.

Mention should also be made of the passage concerned with the examination of the very important conclusions expressed by the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation on Mr. Hines' reports relating to navigation on the Rhine and Danube.

The Assembly may further note in the report of the Transit Committee that this Committee has completed the main part of its work on the question of the reform of the calendar, although it will not lose interest in the future of this question, which affects so many circles. The Assembly is aware that a special Committee was appointed containing representatives of scientific circles and high religious authorities. A great deal of work was done by this Committee towards investigating and elucidating this problem, and its final report is brought to the notice of the Assembly.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Esteban Jaramillo, Colombia.)

I have the honour to submit to the Assembly, on behalf of the Second Committee, the report which it instructed me to prepare on the work carried out in the interval between the Sixth and Seventh Ordinary Sessions of the Assembly by the Organisation for Communications and Transit. This Organisation owes its origin to Article 23 (c) of the Covenant, in conformity with which Members of the League have undertaken to make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit between the various countries.

The work of the organisations of the League in respect of communications and transit has had to be voluntarily limited for two vital reasons:—

- (1) The almost unlimited scope of the field of action of this work; and
- (2) The unavoidable political necessity of respecting the sovereignty of nations.

With regard to the first of these reasons, the field of action has, so to speak, no limits, just as the genius of man has no known limits in its age-long struggle with space to shorten the distances separating him from the rest of the world and to explore and dominate lands and seas. It is accordingly no exaggeration to say that the history of human progress is the history of means of communication. And this is why, as will be seen from its report, an enormous variety of questions has engaged the attention of the Advisory and Technical Committee and provided matter for its investigation—inland navigation and ports, maritime navigation, railways, roads and highways, telegraphs and telephones, wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony, the transport and use of water-power, i.e. practically all that men have invented for purposes of communication and to get into closer touch with each other.

The second reason for the limitation of the kind of work which is mainly of a technical nature, but which also has a political aspect, is that the traditional attitude and practice of the League of Nations do not permit of any work of an international character being carried out without the consent of the nations concerned. This fact undoubtedly accounts for the advisory character which has been given to the Committee, although it consists of technical experts appointed by the various Governments, experts whose decisions do not bind their respective countries. The Committee is an organisation within the League of Nations set up to study, through the medium of experts chosen from among its members or from outside, the international problems arising out of transit and communication between the various countries, to prepare the work of International Conferences on Communications and Transit and to give its assistance, with the help of recognised authorities, to Governments wishing to obtain the opinion of the Committee on national questions relating to different kinds of transport. But the Committee has yet a further important duty—that assigned to it by a clause of various conventions hitherto concluded on the subject. This clause provides that disputes, relating to the interpretation of these conventions, which cannot be settled by some amicable method of procedure, should be submitted for an advisory opinion to the Committee in question before being referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. At the same time, the Committee is permanently at the disposal of Governments with a view to facilitating the settlement of disputes which might arise between them with regard to communications. A case occurred, for example, in connection with the difference between Germany and the Governing Commission of the Saar Territory with regard to the conditions for carrying out the Berne Convention on Transport by Rail as regards the relations between the Saar and the German railways; in this instance, the intervention of the Advisory and Technical Committee proved the effectiveness of that body.

In questions of a purely national character, the Advisory and Technical Committee is also beginning to give proof of the effectiveness of its organisation and methods through the help which it is able to furnish at any time to a Government which requests its intervention in order to solve difficult internal questions connected with transport. A case arose recently in Poland, where, through the application of the resolutions of the Genoa Economic Conference and after agreement with Poland, the Committee supplied experts, with the most successful results, to solve the difficult problem of gradually establishing a new system of navigable waterways.

Services of this kind are of great importance to the different countries, and it is to be hoped that, as the latter become better acquainted with the work and success of the Advisory and Technical Committee in a sphere which is particularly suited for technical initiative and timely and effective intervention, many countries will seek help from the skill, experience, goodwill, impartiality and prestige of this organ of the League of Nations, in order to find the best solution for internal problems concerning communications, which problems may have a decisive influence upon their future development.

The intervention of the Committee in cases like this cannot give rise to serious objections of any kind, since the Committee plays a purely advisory part and sometimes helps to bring about a friendly settlement of differences. Moreover, its intervention does not imply the least lack of consideration or respect for the technical experts of the countries which ask for its assistance, since such intervention is solely in response to the very reasonable desire to know the opinion of experts who do not belong to the country and who are absolutely impartial, free from all prejudice and exposed to no influences other than those of the general interest. If, finally, as is only fair, the country which claims the good offices of the Committee is required to contribute towards the expenses incurred, it may be sure that the services of the Committee will be in all circumstances infinitely cheaper than if it appealed to the help of experts not belonging to the League and selected from some other country.

There is no doubt at all that the technical organisations of the League of Nations are the best suited to perform the immense services which the great Geneva institution is able to render to peace between the nations, by insuring international co-operation and the peaceful solution of the most acute economic and social problems. As these organisations develop and extend the field of their activities throughout the world, a knowledge of their prestige and effectiveness will spread to the most distant parts. It would take too long to recount all that has been done by the League, thanks to the help of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. In order, however, to realise the

organisations of the League). This summary, translated into Spanish and widely distributed in the Latin-American countries, would contribute towards extending the field of activity of the Committee, and would spread among these peoples a knowledge of the work of the League of Nations in the economic sphere which interests them more particularly, and complete the intellectual and idealist support they have hitherto given to the great creation of Woodrow Wilson by a practical adherence and immediate results.

The various questions of documentation and liaison will be discussed at the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will have to renew the Advisory and Technical Committee, examine its work from the point of view of specialists, lay down rules for the future and deal with all problems of organisation. This Conference, which will be held in 1927, cannot accordingly but be of great utility, especially as it will not be required to conclude any conventions. It will certainly meet with complete success, as will also the special Conference which will deal, on the basis of conclusions already reached as a result of the work of the Advisory and Technical Committee, with the question of the unification of buoyage and lighting of coasts, a question which specially concerns safety at sea, and in this way all maritime transport.

In conclusion, the Second Committee submits the following draft resolution to the Assembly :—

The Assembly :

Notes the progress accomplished by the Organisation for Communications and Transit since the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, and especially the success obtained by the European Conference on the Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation and the Conference on the Passports Régime ;

Trusts that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will be held in 1927 and which will examine in particular the general questions of organisation and documentation, will consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical liaison between the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administration and experts of non-European countries ; and

Notes, finally, the conclusion of the work of the Special Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar, and associates itself with the findings and suggestions made by the Advisory and Technical Committee.

The Second Committee has also examined the proposal of the Chilean Delegation concerning the facilities to be granted in the crossing of frontiers to journalists who hold cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations. This proposal had been referred to it by the Assembly.

The Second Committee, while entirely approving the spirit of the Chilean Delegation's proposal, has had regard, in drawing up the draft resolution which it is submitting to the Assembly, to the discussions which took place recently at the Passport Conference and to the assurances given to it that, on the occasion of the said Conference, most of the delegations assembled at Geneva had declared that, although they could not impose upon themselves strict regulations of an international character, their Governments were prepared in practice to give journalists who held these cards all the facilities which may be deemed possible.

In these circumstances it appeared to the Second Committee that it would be sufficient if the Assembly were to take note of the situation by the adoption of the following resolution :—

The Assembly of the League of Nations, desiring that all possible assistance should be given to journalists attending the meetings of the League at Geneva,

Takes note of the liberal statements made at the time of the Passports Conference with regard to the facilities for crossing frontiers to be granted to bearers of identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations.

ANNEX V.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic Committee.* (Rapporteur : M. Nagai, Japan.)

Since September 1925 the Economic Committee has held four sessions. As usual, it has submitted to the Assembly a report on the whole of its work during the past year.

This report shows that the Economic Committee is systematically pursuing the study of the various problems set before it, and is ascertaining in each case, by comprehensive and exhaustive enquiry, how far the proposals which it is considering are of practical value and capable of realisation in the international sphere.

Without entering into details, which may be found in the Economic Committee's report to the Assembly, the Second Committee would like to give a brief summary of the main questions the Economic Committee has dealt with during the past year.

1. In 1924, in a resolution drawn up by the same Committee, the Assembly expressed the wish that the Economic Committee should make an exhaustive study of the problem of the *abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions*.

After two years, during which the Economic Committee has gone into all the details and conducted enquiries in 36 countries, the Committee has now proposed to the Council that an international conference should be held—probably during the first half of 1927. The exact date will be fixed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Chairman of the Economic Committee and the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, in order that both Conferences may carry on their work side by side without any inconvenience.

Although the question of prohibitions and restrictions is also on the agenda of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, the Council is convinced that no waste of effort need be feared. Whereas the International Economic Conference is of the nature of a consultation, as comprehensive as possible, regarding the world economic situation, the remedies to be applied, and is not expected to lead immediately to inter-governmental agreement to bring about as soon as possible, in the form of a convention, the agreement to abolish a system which is regarded as injurious to international

As far as may be seen, the International Economic Conference is bound to urge the necessity of a return to unrestricted trade. If, through the suggested Convention, freedom of trade as regards prohibitions and restrictions is reintroduced, this will be an important step towards that economic reconstruction which is the final aim of the International Economic Conference.

A very concise and at the same time comprehensive document, drawn up by the Economic Committee and annexed to its report to the Assembly, will form the foundation of the Conference's discussions on the subject of prohibitions. The efficient preparation, due to the continued efforts of the Economic Committee, will undoubtedly assist this diplomatic Conference very considerably in its work. As you are of course aware, careful preparation is essential to success in undertakings of this kind.

2. The *Convention relating to the Simplification of Customs Formalities*, signed at Geneva in 1923 has so far been ratified or adhered to by 20 States.

Quite apart, however, from this official recognition of the Convention, it appears from the Committee's report that it is also being indirectly applied, inasmuch as certain of its clauses are being embodied in an increasing number of commercial treaties. In many cases, certain matters are dealt with in these treaties simply by reference to the Convention, which is thus tending to establish a kind of common doctrine.

3. After protracted attempts to solve the difficult problem of the *suppression of false Customs declarations* by the means of an international agreement, the Committee tells us that it thinks it wiser, before taking any definite step in this direction, to make a fuller study of the question, and to enlarge its scope so as to embrace every kind of false declarations which may be injurious to trade.

4. During the Ordinary Session of the Assembly, in 1923, the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses was opened for signature by any States desirous of adhering. It will be remembered that countries which adhere to this Protocol undertake to recognise the validity of the arbitration clause in contracts, particularly commercial contracts. Considerable progress has thus been made in the extension of *commercial arbitration*, a question of whose importance you are fully aware. At the same time, the 1923 Protocol does not oblige the States adhering to it to execute arbitral awards unless those awards are rendered in their own territories; in other words, the Protocol imposes no obligation on the parties adhering to it as regards the execution of arbitral awards rendered abroad. It is for reasons of expediency that those who framed the 1923 Protocol thought it better not to touch upon the question of the execution of foreign arbitral awards, because, owing to certain aspects of the problem, this question seemed to be linked up with the yet more delicate question of the execution of foreign judgments.

Since then, however, the Economic Committee has rightly decided that the two questions ought to be separated, since, in its opinion, the first question does not present all the difficulties involved by the second. The Committee's investigations are now making it inclined to have recourse to the assistance of legal experts of recognised competence in this matter, and the report which it is submitting to us shows that it is contemplating the possibility of supplementing the 1923 Protocol by an additional act, securing the execution in the territory of one adhering State of an arbitral award rendered in the territory of another such State.

The Second Committee need hardly emphasise the importance attached to the solution of this problem in international commercial circles.

5. With regard to the attempted unification of *legislation concerning bills of exchange*, the Economic Committee informs us that, taking into account the desire repeatedly expressed in international commercial circles, it has resumed its investigations upon somewhat different lines.

The Economic Committee is convinced that, in view of the present state of affairs, it would be vain to attempt any general unification of legislation on this subject, but thinks that some progress could probably be achieved towards a gradual assimilation of the different national legislations, more especially of those of the so-called continental type.

However, before taking any steps in this direction, it proposes to adopt its usual course and investigate how far the existing divergences of the various legislations are in practice a hindrance to trade. To this end it will, still in the course of the present year, consult a number of experts who are specially qualified to give an authoritative opinion.

6. In 1925 a Conference was held at The Hague with the object of revising the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property.

It will be remembered that the Economic Committee suggested amendments to several articles of the Convention, adding fresh and more effective provisions for the suppression of *unfair competition*.

The Conference considered these proposals, and the Economic Committee is now happily in a position to inform the Assembly that the majority of the measures it suggested have been embodied in the new text of the Convention, in consequence of which the principles advocated by the Committee will henceforward be applied in the 36 States of the Union. The Second Committee thinks that this is a success on which we should congratulate the Economic Committee.

7. With the help of the International Labour Office and the Financial Committee, the Economic Committee has continued its investigation of the involved problem of *economic crises and consequent unemployment*.

It would take too long to enter into all the details of the question; these are to be found in the Committee's report. It should, however, be stated that, at the suggestion of the Joint Committee on Crises, the Council has drawn the attention of the States to the necessity of collecting and publishing at short regular intervals statistics which will serve to establish reliable indices.

It is evident that accurate information concerning the fluctuations of production is essential. The Council therefore took this opportunity of reminding the States of the importance it attaches to statistics of production and stocks.

Finally, the Committee contemplates convening a meeting of a number of experts at an early date, in order to obtain their opinions as to the scientific and technical aspects of the establishment of indices and economic barometers.

In addition to these statistical questions, the report shows that the Joint Committee is continuing its investigations for the purpose of ascertaining what are the essential elements which cause excessive fluctuations in economic activity.

8. In June 1925 the Council of the League of Nations requested two distinguished economists, Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, to hold an enquiry into *economic conditions in Austria*, with a view to discovering what effect these conditions had on the work of financial reconstruction undertaken by the League.

In September of the same year the Council referred the conclusions of their report to the Economic Committee for consideration. The latter devoted its December session to this work, making special efforts to discover appropriate means of removing the obstacles to reciprocal trade and more especially those arising out of the Customs tariffs between the succession and cessionary States of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

It has presented a reasoned report embodying two main ideas; first, that the intensification of the agricultural production of Austria seems to be the most urgent remedy, and that such production could be fostered by an appropriate system of long-term agricultural loans. Certain members of the Economic Committee have helped the Financial Committee to conduct a more searching enquiry into this subject.

The second conclusion reached by the Economic Committee is that it would be to the advantage of the States which have succeeded to or to which have been ceded portions of the former monarchy to conclude the closest possible commercial agreements with one another so that the needs of each country may be met, without any country departing from any obligations it may have assumed with regard to third States.

This recommendation was also intended for the other States asked to take the special needs of Austria into account by revising their commercial conventions with that country.

The Council, approving the proposals of the Economic Committee, has forwarded these recommendations to the States concerned.

9. The Economic Committee examined the recommendations submitted to it by the Committee of Enquiry into the Statistics regarding the Census of Industrial Production, and subsequently, when these recommendations had been approved by the General Conference of the International Institute of Statistics which met at Rome in October 1925, recommended that the Council should communicate them to the various States for favourable consideration, asking the latter to communicate any observations they might have to make.

10. The Second Committee was glad to observe in the Economic Committee's report an assurance that the documents collected by the Economic Section regarding the various means of *protecting the foreign buyer against worthless goods* would be published shortly. The Second Committee, however, requests that every effort be made to secure their publication before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

11. The Assembly will doubtless have noted with satisfaction that the Economic Committee and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation have established close relations in the study of the problem of scientific property undertaken by the latter which will surely prove effective and valuable. You will also have observed that the Economic Committee is anxious to see this co-operation extended to all the work common to both bodies. The Second Committee is in sympathy with this desire and is sure that it will be realised, for it is simply common sense.

In conclusion, the Second Committee wishes to express its high appreciation of the work of the Economic Committee and has the honour to propose to the Assembly the following draft resolutions. (See page 10 for text.)

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee.* (Rapporteur: M. R. M. Avramovitch, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.)

The reports which have been submitted to the Second Committee on the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary and on the settlement of refugees in Greece and Bulgaria have illustrated the activity of the Financial Committee and demonstrated its title to the gratitude of the Council. There are, however, certain other points of no less importance to be mentioned with which the Financial Committee has dealt during the current year. Chief among these are the part it has played in the reconstruction of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig and the work which has been carried out by the Committee, or under its direction, in connection with double taxation, fiscal evasion and the suppression of currency counterfeiting.

I.—DANZIG.

As in the case of Austria and, later, Hungary, when the League of Nations lent those countries its aid to re-establish their financial positions, the assistance which the Financial Committee has given to Danzig is closely connected with those problems of reconstruction which have arisen in such an urgent form throughout Europe since the war. Here, more particularly, the League had special reasons for intervening, on account of the responsibilities which it has assumed towards the Free City, whose constitution is under its guarantee.

Last June, at the express desire of the Danzig Senate, the President of the Council requested M. Janssen, a member of the Financial Committee, to investigate the financial position of the Free City, which had become somewhat serious during the months immediately preceding, and to visit Danzig in order to obtain all the information he required. M. Janssen submitted a report to the Financial Committee at its session held in London in July.

"The monetary reform which Danzig carried out in 1923, with the aid of the League of Nations, has been wholly successful, the stability of the Danzig gulden having since then been maintained without difficulty in relation to the pound sterling and the notes of the Bank of Danzig being covered to the extent of over 100 per cent."

Since the beginning of 1926 the Free City has been faced with serious budgetary difficulties, partly due to the increase in expenditure on account of unemployment, partly to the decrease in Customs revenue. Under the convention now in force, the Free City, which is a portion of the

Polish Customs territory, is entitled to a percentage of the duties collected in its territory. These duties are collected in zloty. The decrease in the import traffic to Poland and the depreciation of the zloty have seriously affected this source of revenue, particularly as the expenditure of Danzig on Customs administration is paid in Danzig currency, and has not decreased in proportion to the revenue.

At its July session the Financial Committee declared that it hoped to be able at its next meeting in September to recommend the contracting of a loan for the following principal purposes :—

- (a) To cover the deficit in the 1926-7 Budget resulting from exceptional circumstances, and to repay the floating debt ;
- (b) To undertake certain productive expenditure.

This recommendation could not, however, have been made had not the Committee been assured that the budgetary equilibrium of Danzig would be permanently re-established by a series of enactments which would enable expenditure to be reduced by about 10 per cent. and by the conclusion of a new arrangement between the Free City and Poland, which would secure to Danzig for at least two years a certain minimum revenue representing its share of the Polish Customs revenues.

At its September session the Free City submitted to the Financial Committee a new budget providing for certain readjustments in expenditure. The Financial Committee held that the measures adopted or contemplated did not entirely correspond to what it had proposed in July ; consequently it has not yet declared itself ready to make a definite recommendation with a view to the issue of a loan. It has asked the authorities of the Free City to make a new effort at budgetary compression between now and December, and has renewed its declaration to the effect that it would be prepared, after examining the proposal submitted to it in December and subject to the rights of the Polish Government, to recommend the issue of a loan of approximately 30,000,000 gulden in favour of the Free City. Such is the position to-day.

According to the declaration of the Polish Commissioner in Danzig, the negotiations with the Free City concerning the apportionment of the product of the Customs duties, the conclusion of which is essential to budgetary equilibrium, have already resulted in a settlement satisfactory to the two parties.

The effort of administrative reorganisation and simplification which is asked of Danzig is considerable. It is nevertheless essential, in order to bring about the return of definite financial stability and ensure a brilliant future for Danzig and its port, which is called upon to become one of the vital centres of the economic life of that part of Europe.

II.—SUPPRESSION OF COUNTERFEITING.

The attention of the Financial Committee was directed to this question by the Council, in consequence of a letter from the French Government drawing attention to the necessity of a methodical investigation as to the methods of international collaboration calculated to facilitate the suppression or prevention of counterfeiting, which does such serious damage to the credit of the country whose currency is forged.

The Financial Committee attaches to this question the great importance which it merits, and began its work in the matter at its July session by drawing up a questionnaire for despatch to Banks of Issue. Many replies to this questionnaire have reached the Committee, but the latter prefers, before proceeding to examine them in detail, to complete its information.

The Financial Committee will continue its work in this matter, which would seem to be a peculiarly suitable subject for organised collaboration between the various Governments and Banks of Issue. That important improvements can be realised in this connection is evident.

III.—DOUBLE TAXATION AND FISCAL EVASION.

For several years now the League of Nations has been dealing with the question of double taxation and fiscal evasion. After the report of four distinguished economic experts on the theoretical solutions of the problem, the Council authorised the Financial Committee to convene a first Committee of Experts, including representatives of the fiscal administration of certain European countries. In 1925 the Assembly noted the conclusions of this first Committee of Experts. In conformity with the proposals put forward by the Committee, the Council convened a further conference of experts on fiscal questions, which met at Geneva in May 1926. These experts were members of the administrations of the following countries : Argentina, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Venezuela. They had been so chosen as to ensure that the Committee should be composed of nationals of countries whose interests and outlook in fiscal questions were as different as possible : countries which exported capital and new countries partly financed by foreign capital.

The similarity of the views of these experts was remarkable. They prepared three preliminary draft conventions regarding :—

- (a) Double taxation ;
- (b) Judicial assistance with regard to the recovery of taxes ;
- (c) Fiscal evasion and administrative assistance.

These drafts only constitute as yet a preliminary basis for discussion, which the experts intend to revise at a later session.

It is, moreover, preferable not to regard as final even the form in which the experts have set out their conclusions. They themselves reserved the right to consider later whether the progress to be realised would be easier to attain by means of a general international convention or by bi-lateral conventions, but they were obviously and rightly anxious that, even in the latter case, endeavours should be made to preserve a certain unity both as to form and principle in these bi-lateral conventions, by reaching an agreement beforehand regarding the general conception to which each of these conventions should conform.

I wish to direct my colleagues' attention to the extreme importance of these meetings of experts in one branch of administration, which ensure personal contact, and, whatever may be the items on the agenda of the meeting, make it possible for each to derive benefit from the experience of his

colleagues and examine the solutions applied in other countries to the problems which form his daily task at home.

FINANCIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

In conclusion, I should like to draw your attention to the economic and financial publications of the Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat.

New editions of the volumes published in former years have been prepared. Apart from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which appears on the last Saturday of the first fortnight of each month, the *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks* for the period 1913-25 has already been published and volumes on the *Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances* for the years 1910-25 will shortly be ready for publication.

The Secretariat has also now in course of preparation a new edition of the *Memorandum on Public Finance*.

Evidence of the world-wide appreciation of these economic and financial publications of the League of Nations increases yearly. The number of countries preparing special estimates of the balance of payments has grown steadily since the work was first undertaken on the suggestion of the Second Committee of the Third Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Doubtless many of you will have had occasion to use these collections of detailed and objectively presented information when studying the financial and economic problems of the day and will have proved for yourselves their utility and value.

(For text of Resolutions see page 11.)

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.* (Rapporteur: M. Loucheur, France.)

The last Assembly invited the Council, in a resolution dated 21st September 1925, to consider at the earliest possible moment the expediency of constituting a committee which would prepare the work for an International Economic Conference. It was understood that the convening of this Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations should be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.

The Second Committee considered the effect given by the Council to this resolution in the course of an interesting discussion.

The Preparatory Committee was constituted by the Council at its meeting in December 1925. It is composed of eminent men, as the Council desired to ensure a just proportion between nationalities and at the same time secure members who by their former work and experience could be considered as representing the principal interests engaged; men of science and manufacturers, Government officials and workers.

The first session of the Preparatory Committee was held in April. M. G. Ador, who has rendered such unforgettable services to the League of Nations, was appointed Chairman by the Council, but his state of health prevented him from carrying out his duties, and the discussions were therefore presided over—with extraordinary ability—by M. Theunis. Under the obligation of finding a successor to M. Ador, the Council has since wisely called upon M. Theunis to continue formally also in the office which he had exercised in fact since April.

The report on the work of the first session of the Committee explains that, before submitting its reply to the Council on the questions which had been referred to it, that is to say, before submitting proposals concerning the agenda, the nature of the composition and the date of the Conference, the Committee thought it indispensable to pass in rapid review the essential elements of the economic problem as it exists to-day, and accordingly it has asked the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, with the aid of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Chamber of Commerce, to compile a documentation the general plan of which the Committee has, however, itself drawn up. This documentation is at present being constituted.

In accordance with a decision of the Council, the Secretary-General was invited to select the date of the second session of the Preparatory Committee and, after consultation with the Chairman, this was fixed for 15th November 1926. The Committee will then have before it the results of the researches which it considered indispensable, and it will be able to begin the most difficult part of its task.

The Assembly itself indicated last year that it desired to leave the Council complete freedom as regards the organisation of the preparatory work for the Conference. Thus also the instructions given by the Council to the Preparatory Committee, which was summarised in a remarkable report by M. Hymans, are very wide.

The Council keeps in contact with the Committee by means of a Special Committee, before which M. Theunis appeared last June, in order to explain the progress of the work.

The Second Committee was unanimous in considering that there was no reason for modifying the methods and procedure applied so far, and that it would cause more harm than good to surround the Preparatory Committee with restrictive instructions, thus losing, in part at least, the benefit of the work of the Committee itself.

The remarks which follow are not therefore intended to reduce the possible scope of action for the next session of the Committee, but merely to emphasise briefly and generally the points upon which all the delegations present in the Second Committee appeared to manifest agreement.

The Second Committee has observed, concerning the programme of the Conference, that, if it was indispensable to include in the plan of documentation adopted during the first session of the Committee a considerable number of different items, covering all the principal aspects of the economic problem, on the other hand the utility of the Conference would be lost if the Committee had not succeeded in detaching a small number of essential questions upon which the efforts of the Conference should be concentrated. The Committee should submit proposals to the Council which would allow it to choose the main lines of the programme.

On account, however, of the close connection between the different aspects of the economic problem, it will obviously be necessary to include questions in the discussions of the Conference

which, while not belonging to the essential problems inserted in the agenda, may nevertheless have a certain influence upon them. This is quite in keeping with the indications given to the Committee by M. Theunis.

With reference to the composition of the Conference, there seem to be two difficulties to be avoided. On the one hand, some delegations would have objections to calling upon experts, appointed exclusively for their personal qualifications, who could only arrive at theoretical conclusions, as the Conference would then run the risk of becoming purely academic. On the other hand, a diplomatic conference is not what is desired, and the members, who will be designated by the Governments, must not be too closely tied by their official responsibilities in their study of the problems submitted to the Conference. In such a case, if it were necessary to arrive at an immediate agreement, they might be constrained to place too narrow a limit upon the scope of their discussions and thus neglect those aspects of the economic problem the solution of which by means of Governmental conventions did not appear to them as an immediate possibility.

It should be possible to find a happy mean avoiding both these difficulties, which would at the same time allow the scope of the discussion to be widened and ensure that the Conference's conclusions should have a practical value and an influence upon the economic policy of the Governments. The same procedure for the appointment of the delegates might be employed as in the case of the Brussels Financial Conference.

As regards the date of the Conference, some members proposed recommending in the resolution that the Conference should be convened for next spring. The Second Committee considered that it would be better not to make any definite recommendation before the Preparatory Committee, which will examine this point during its next session, has stated its opinion. The Committee, nevertheless, is unanimous in desiring that the Conference should be convened without unnecessary delay, as soon as the state of the preparatory work permits and the general conditions appear sufficiently favourable.

Whilst emphasising its view that the League of Nations should lose no time in undertaking a programme of international action in economic affairs, which the state of the world renders increasingly necessary, the Second Committee has realised very clearly the importance of the initial work accomplished under the direction of the Preparatory Committee. The Second Committee is aware, in particular, that the meetings of the Preparatory Committee are in themselves an indispensable factor in creating gradually a current of favourable public opinion in the different countries and in the different circles concerned, without which any action organised on an international basis would be impossible.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to request the Assembly to adopt the following resolution :—

The Assembly notes that the Council has given effect to its decision of 15th December 1925, by constituting a Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference.

It realises that the general economic situation of the world calls more imperiously than ever for an effort towards international co-operation and makes it yet more necessary that the Economic Conference should be held.

The Assembly therefore hopes that the Committee will actively push forward its work, so as to enable the Economic Conference to be convened as soon as possible.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission.* (Rapporteur: M. van Cauwelaert, Belgium.)

The Committee has had before it the section of the Report to the Assembly on the work of the Council dealing specifically with the question of the establishment of Greek refugees. It has also had the advantage of hearing a review of the work of the Commission since its inception from Mr. Howland, its Chairman, of whose resignation the Committee has learnt with great regret.

The situation as disclosed by these reports is in many respects very encouraging.

This piece of settlement work was the first of its kind undertaken by the League; and it was an attempt to tackle a problem without a precedent in history. As the Chairman of the Commission has stated, it is obvious that the problem presented by the influx of 1,400,000 refugees into a country small in extent, whose population amounted approximately to 4,700,000, involved for the Greek Government and for the League of Nations a task of great delicacy, the humanitarian character of which is obvious; only those who have witnessed it can realise the amount of suffering, the misery, sickness and death in all their possible forms, which has occurred among these people uprooted by the war, and even these witnesses have had to make an effort of imagination to realise the proportions of this disaster.

It will be remembered that the original plan was prepared by the Financial Committee after an enquiry by M. Parmentier and Colonel Proctor in Greece. In order to carry out the settlement work a Commission was appointed, consisting of two Greek members and two members appointed by the Council of the League, and a public loan of £10,000,000 was floated in London and New York. Of this sum nearly £8,000,000 were expended up to 30th June of this year. Of the balance, a considerable part has been budgeted, and what is left constituted the reserve fund of the Commission for contingencies and for making a survey of the lands on which the refugees have been settled.

The Commission estimates that, of the 1,400,000 refugees, some half-a-million, either because they had independent means, or with help from other sources, have required no aid from the Commission. Some 700,000 have been settled or assisted by the Commission, and some 120,000 (5,000 agricultural families and 20,000 urban families) still need to be dealt with. To complete the installation of those already assisted and to deal with the remainder, the Commission estimates that a further £5,000,000 would be required.

The large majority of the refugees who have so far been settled are agriculturists. The Commission has established in Macedonia 116,000 families, or approximately 550,000 people; in Thrace 16,526 families or approximately 75,000 people; in the other provinces 14,250 families or nearly 62,000 people—nearly 700,000 people. They have been supplied by the Commission

with seed for all agricultural products, including certain products specially adapted to the needs of the country, such as vine roots from California, pasteurised against phylloxera, and mulberry trees for the silk-worm growers. Each farming family has received a plough animal (mule, ox or buffalo), and a transport animal (a pony or a donkey). The refugees have also been supplied with ploughs and harrows and each family has received an interest in a waggon for the carriage of supplies and grain. Subsistence and seed for planting also had to be furnished until the first crop could be harvested. In those cases where refugees could not be given shelter in houses left vacant by the exodus of peasants who have now gone to Turkey under the system of exchange of populations, the Commission has had to supply them with houses.

According to information supplied to the Committee, the average cost of establishing a family has been continually pared down until it amounts to £100 per family (£50 for the house and £50 for all the rest of the assistance given). This expenditure is obviously exceedingly moderate.

The work of the Commission was at one time seriously endangered by malaria. The figures quoted by the Chairman of the Commission are exceedingly significant and illustrate well the humanitarian aspect of this piece of work. He states that "in some communities the death rate for a short time would, if continued, have amounted to over 40 per cent. per annum of the entire refugee number. Nearly all children who were attacked with malaria died, and the ratio of deaths to births in 1923 was 3 to 1. Fortunately, with better living conditions, more nourishment and works of drainage undertaken by the refugees themselves and the establishment of a medical service by the Commission with the distribution of quinine, a large part of which was given to the Commission by the American Red Cross, the malarial situation seems to be improving rapidly. The number of cases in 1925 out of a 'controlled' group of 200,000 persons was only about half that of 1921, and the birth rate among the refugees now substantially and continuously exceeds the death rate."

The urban refugees number between 500,000 and 600,000. Of these the Commission has completely or partly housed between 100,000 and 200,000 who are gradually, at their own wish, buying their houses under an instalment system spread over 15 years. These urban refugees have established various industries, in particular, the industry of carpet-making, which they brought with them from Turkey.

It is to be noted in general that the refugees have been settled in urban or agricultural districts according to their capacities and according as land and housing have been available. No restriction has been placed on the districts in which they may be lodged.

It will be remembered that the land for settlement was to be transferred under the Protocol signed by the Greek Government in 1923 in full property to the Settlement Commission. A number of legal difficulties had to be overcome before the full legal title could be transferred. It is satisfactory to note that this was accomplished by a *Decret-Loi* published on 15th May of this year.

In this connection there remains, however, a necessary but difficult task for the Commission to perform. There exist no adequate maps in Greece, and a careful survey of the land on which the refugees are settled will have to be undertaken in order that the boundaries of their properties may be fixed. It is obvious that this piece of work is of great importance in creating among them a feeling of security.

The facts contained in the above account speak for themselves; and it is not necessary further to emphasise the manifold significance and value of this piece of work.

On the humanitarian side it has prevented untold misery and distress; on the social and economic side it has greatly strengthened the whole position of the country by turning into productive citizens a large proportion (nearly 25 per cent.) of the population, who without this help might have become a source of disorder in the country or who would have starved in enforced idleness.

As has been seen, about another £5,000,000 would be required in order to bring the work to a successful conclusion. It is obvious that, as is the case with any other loan publicly subscribed, certain conditions must be fulfilled by the borrowing country before such an operation can be successful. It is to be hoped that conditions may be such that the money required may become available in due course to complete this piece of work which has been begun so successfully, and the results of which have so amply justified the association of the League with it.

(For text of Resolution see page 13)

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees.* (Rapporteur: Commander Hilton-Young, British Empire.)

The scheme which has just been adopted by the Council for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria is the second of its kind undertaken under the auspices of the League. The first, which has now been in operation for two years in Greece, is well known to this Committee. The two plans resemble each other in particulars which it is of interest to emphasise.

We have in each case the same kind of problem, viz. a large flow of refugees into a country unable, without external aid, to bear the strain. In the case of Greece, the problem was more serious. The number of refugees was larger and their arrival was concentrated within a shorter period. About 1,400,000 refugees have arrived in Greece since 1922. The number with which Bulgaria has to deal probably does not amount to more than about 220,000, many of whom have been moving about the country since the Balkan wars. In both countries, however, the refugees created a humanitarian problem. Many of them were almost destitute and dying of disease and famine. They created also an economic, social and political problem, some of them were liable to become disorderly, and not only to create internal trouble but to strain relations with neighbouring countries.

The two problems have similarities and so have their solutions. In each case the finances of the country have been examined by the Financial Committee, which has drawn up a plan containing, amongst other things, a statement of the securities which could suitably be given for a foreign loan to pay for the work of settlement. In both cases the Government has agreed to provide for settlement a minimum quantity of suitable land and to accept the control of an authority responsible to the Council to ensure the expenditure of the money on the specified objects. The sums involved, the objects on which they are to be spent and the manner of the control of

The Committee of Experts whose duty it would have been to examine in the last resort all the information received with regard to the Ruffini Scheme should not, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, be convened until a supplementary enquiry has been carried out, in particular in American and German industrial circles. The Economic Committee will, of course, be consulted on this subject, and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is happy to note that there is already close collaboration between itself and the other advisory organs of the League of Nations, e.g. as regards other questions, with the Committee for Communications and Transit and the Child Welfare Committee.

While not losing sight of this new and important question of scientific property, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation feels it to be its duty to draw up a more equitable convention in the matter of authors' rights and their extension, the *droit de suite* and the right to respect.

With regard to University relations, the Committee has noted with much satisfaction the two meetings which were held under its auspices in the course of the year—that of representatives of International Student Associations and that of directors of National University Information Bureaux. The Committee has realised how desirable it is that these meetings should become periodical, in order that the representatives of these organisations may be enabled to get to know each other better through more frequent contact, and to co-ordinate more satisfactorily their efforts and thus avoid overlapping.

The Committee is convinced that it will thus be possible to improve the conditions in which study-tours are undertaken by students and young scientists, and to render exchanges of all kinds between members of the different universities easier and more fruitful.

The Committee has also had before it a valuable report by Mme. Curie on the subject of the international scholarships granted to young scientists who desire to engage in unpaid research work. The Committee hopes that, as a result of the suggestions contained in this report it will be possible to ensure in the future a more equitable distribution of international scholarships.

In the domain of arts and letters the work of the Committee only dates from the first meeting of its Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, that is to say, from last January. Although the youngest Sub-Committee, it has been able, thanks to the co-operation of the corresponding section of the Institute, to put forward several proposals of the highest interest. Apart from what might be done in the domain of music by an exchange of programmes and by extending the organisation of concerts for children, and in the literary sphere by investigations undertaken with a view to securing the better translations conditions of characteristically national works—and these suggestions would only represent a commencement of the Committee's activity—it has proposed a scheme of wider scope for more immediate realisation, viz., the establishment of an international museum bureau and the convening of a congress of popular arts.

The first of these enterprises would have the result of strengthening the bonds between the various museums throughout the world, of promoting exchanges and exhibitions, of arousing interest in the institutions in question, of encouraging agreements between them—in short, of making the museums known and appreciated and, through associations of museum-lovers, of rendering visits to them more useful from the educational point of view. The second of these schemes is based upon the conception that at the root of popular arts, decorative as well as literary and musical, there is a common fund of human sentiment which it will be of value to bring to light as part of the work of the League of Nations.

The reciprocal influences, which may, moreover, be observed in manifestations of popular art, would be of a nature to prove that, even in so national a domain as that under consideration, the influences of peoples on each other are considerable.

The Sub-Committee on Bibliography has continued to deal with a question which it regards as of great importance—the co-ordination of analytical bibliography in the various sciences. It hopes soon to be able to record a definite agreement in respect of physics and its cognate subjects. It has now decided to study Greco-Roman antiquity, the economic sciences, and biology. It is proposed to hold meetings of experts at the beginning of next year, whose task it will be to bring into touch the representatives of publications, upon whom the co-ordination of analytical bibliography in the above-mentioned sciences primarily depends.

It is one of the essential conditions of scientific work that scientists should be able to obtain, quickly, accurate information as to the contents of libraries. The Committee hopes, through the Institute, to secure the co-ordination of information of this kind, together with an agreement among libraries to forward their communications through the Institute or direct.

As regards the questions submitted direct to the Plenary Committee, the establishment of an international meteorological bureau, universal synchronisation and the International Mines Institute, the Committee did not feel that it could adopt a resolution before obtaining fuller information. It thought that the first of these problems was a very urgent one, but that, before the Council or Assembly could be asked to deal with it, a circumstantial report was required. The second question will be referred by the Communications and Transit Section to the Radio-Telegraphic Conference which is to be held at Washington next year—a body which would appear to be more suited to deal with such questions and to provide solutions for them.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in its capacity as Governing Body of the Institute, has taken cognisance of two reports, one of which was submitted by M. Reynold on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Institute with regard to the work of the Board during the past year, and the other by the Director of the Institute with regard to the work done between January and the date of meeting of the Committee.

The Committee, as stated at the beginning of this report, has expressed its entire satisfaction with the work accomplished, and has instructed M. Destrée to draw up the report on the activities of the Institute, which, in accordance with the Statutes, has to be presented to the Council of the League of Nations, to the French Government and to the Members of the League. In this report, M. Destrée will express, on behalf of the Governing Body, his satisfaction with the work accomplished. The Governing Body of the Institute has, mainly for reasons of economy, made certain changes in the staff list of the Institute. At the request of the Director, it has appointed an Assistant Director, M. Zimmern, an Englishman. The Governing Body has also noted with much pleasure the regular subsidies—100,000 French francs and 15,000 gold francs respectively—which the Polish and

Czecho-Slovak Governments have decided, in virtue of the right conferred on them by Article 5 of the French Government's letter of 8th December 1924, to grant to the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. Your *Rapporteur* ventures to emphasise the importance of this action and to express the hope that it may be imitated; it is clear that the International Institute has many tasks to accomplish which will increase in scope as the countries which are Members of the League come to take a greater interest in them. We have observed with keen pleasure that this interest is becoming more widespread. The action which we note to-day constitutes one among many proofs of this; it shows in particular that the rules so wisely adopted by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in order to guarantee the international character of the Institute give full satisfaction to the Members of the League, and that these rules are passing from theory into practice. My reason for laying considerable stress on the point is that, in consequence of having followed the work of previous Assemblies, I know how satisfactory this news will be to our Committee, and that I feel certain, in expressing the wish which I have just formulated, of obtaining its unanimous approval.

The account which has been submitted to you shows clearly that in the course of the present year the work of intellectual co-operation has developed considerably, and that it has been possible, as a result of wider experience, to fix the character and method of the work.

The Second Committee ventures to remind the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the resolution adopted by the Third Ordinary Session of the Assembly on 28th September 1922, with a view to stimulating an intellectual co-operation based on a closer international solidarity.

Further, realising the advantages to be derived from familiarising the greatest possible number of students with the work of the League by means of a visit to Geneva, the Second Committee, upon the proposal of the Austrian delegation, requests the Governments to take into consideration and investigate this question. By thus supplementing their ideas on this subject, students holding scholarships would be better qualified to impart knowledge of the League's work to young persons at universities. The assistance of the national committees on intellectual co-operation might be solicited in regard to the selection of candidates.

The Second Committee requests the Assembly to approve the Report on the Work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to adopt the following resolution (see page 13 for text).

ANNEX XI.—Report of the Third Committee on Arbitration and Security. (Rapporteur : Dr. Lazare Markovitch, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.)

The Assembly of the League of Nations, at its last ordinary session, after noting that the Geneva Protocol had not received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately, decided to reserve its decision as to the advisability of drawing up a fresh general convention concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes. The general principles of the Protocol—arbitration, security and disarmament—in themselves retained their full value for the solution of the problem of the friendly settlement of disputes between nations. For this reason the resolution voted on 25th September 1925, by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, insists on the advisability and necessity of working for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament. Inspired by these sentiments and determined to continue its efforts with a view to discovering the most appropriate means of ensuring peace, the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly recalled the guarantees provided by the Covenant and drew the attention of the States Members of the League of Nations to the advantages, from the point of view of their security, of the conclusion of individual arbitration or judicial settlement conventions.

The preliminary negotiations entered into last year between Germany and the Western Powers concerning a pact of guarantee had become a matter of common knowledge and they were expected to lead to results which would be favourable to the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations. It was for that reason that the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly openly referred to these negotiations and proclaimed in advance that it regarded them with favour and hoped for their final success. The Assembly went even further in its anticipation of events and formally requested the Council, in its resolution of 25th September 1925, to examine all these conventions and to submit a report to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements.

The events which have taken place since September 1925 are well known. The recommendation of the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly with regard to arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security has had its effect. Clear proof of this is to be found in the ever-increasing number of such treaties published by the Secretariat in the interesting volume entitled "Arbitration and Security" (a systematic survey of the arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security deposited with the League of Nations, which has been communicated to all the members of the Third Committee. The most important event, however, and one which marks a definite stage in the evolution of the problem of the pacific settlement of international disputes, is the conclusion of the Treaties of Locarno, the realisation of the wish alluded to in the Assembly Resolution of 25th September 1925. This event has aroused world-wide interest. It is therefore not surprising that the Council of the League of Nations, in emphasising, in its reports on the matter, the capital importance of this historic fact, should not have hesitated to draw from it certain hopeful conclusions as to the maintenance of peace.

Acting in accordance with the recommendation of the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Council has undertaken, through the intermediary of its competent organs, an examination of all the declarations, proposals and suggestions made to it or to the Assembly. It has also undertaken an examination of the treaties deposited with the League of Nations, in particular the Treaties of Locarno. The conclusions at which the Council has arrived will not fail to produce an impression on all sides. The Council notes that the movement towards the pacific settlement of international disputes is constantly gaining force in international policy.

In another passage of its report the Council notes that this movement has acquired an ever-increasing force and can already be regarded as part of the practical policy which a number of States are in a position to adopt. The Third Committee is fully aware of the importance of these

declarations; without indulging in exaggerated optimism, it has come to the conclusion that appreciable progress has been achieved by the Treaties of Locarno and that it is essential to continue along the road of confidence and peace so clearly traced by the signing of these Treaties.

When examining all these facts and endeavouring to determine their political significance, the Third Committee thought it desirable to recommend that the Assembly should not only note the progress realised in the matter, but should also take steps more particularly to promote the development of international relations in the spirit of mutual confidence and security which prevailed at Locarno and which should not remain the exclusive privilege of a few Powers. The Third Committee regards the present moment as most favourable for the consolidation of peace by means of the extension of the principles of the Protocol which were so emphatically confirmed by the Treaties of Locarno. It is convinced that the growing tendency to settle international disputes by pacific means, a tendency dwelt on in the reports of the Council, stands in need of encouragement and support. It was for this reason and in view of the considerations to which reference has just been made that the Third Committee, on the proposal of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, drafted the proposal submitted to the Assembly for approval.

This resolution bears some relation to those of previous years and more particularly to the resolutions of 25th September 1925. It is designed to testify to the League's desire to promote the continuation of the admirable work accomplished at Locarno and to make that work more far-reaching by extending it to other regions of Europe and the whole world. The resolution does not claim to exhaust the vast and complex question of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Committee fully realises that in certain parts of the world, and even in Europe, States will no doubt be able to go further and adopt a more strictly judicial system than that of the Locarno Treaties.

Furthermore, certain States which may consider themselves to be already in a position of security will not need to identify themselves strictly with the system of security by mutual guarantee provided for in these Treaties.

The resolution is in the nature rather of a political resolution bearing upon the actual state and stage of evolution of those ideas of the Covenant which have found expression in the different Conventions on arbitration and security and more particularly in the Treaties of Locarno.

Further, we desire to mention a fresh element which would be introduced into the Council's sphere of activity by the last paragraph of the resolution. This contains a provision requesting the Council to offer its good offices, if necessary, for the conclusion of suitable agreements on the lines of the Locarno agreements. This simply means that the Council would be asked to give its encouragement and make a recommendation, but would be left to judge, in its discretion, of the expediency of such mediation and the conditions under which it should be offered in concrete cases.

The Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly, by adopting this resolution, would set the seal of its authority on the peaceful policy which it desires to see adopted by the States Members of the League in their individual policy, and would thus be discharging the duty so eloquently described in the preamble to the Covenant as that of achieving international peace and security by the establishment of the principles which should be regarded as the actual rule of conduct among Governments.

(For text of Resolution see page 14.)

ANNEX XII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.* (Rapporteur: M. Paul-Boncour, France).

After taking note of the negotiations at that time in progress with a view to the conclusion of arbitration conventions and of treaties of mutual security, and anticipating the successful conclusion of these negotiations, the Assembly, at its Sixth Ordinary Session, decided that it could ask the Council to proceed immediately to preparatory studies for the organisation of a conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments.

In taking this step on the proposal of its Third Committee, it fully realised that these studies would necessarily take a considerable time in view of the wide scope and the complicated nature of a problem which had hitherto never been approached.

It hoped that in this way, when political conditions permitted—the preparatory studies having already been carried out—a conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments could usefully be convened.

In the Third Committee's opinion, this step was a wise one and these hopes will not prove vain. After hearing the statement made by M. Louzon, the Chairman of the Preparatory Commission to which the Council entrusted the investigations called for by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, on the state of this Commission's work and also of that of its technical Sub-Commissions, and having regard also to the fact that the situation has become more favourable by the ratification of the Locarno Agreements and Germany's admission to the League of Nations, the Third Committee recognised that a conference on the limitation of armaments can and should be convened.

Differences of opinion, or, more exactly, apprehensions, have been manifested as to when the technical preparations will be complete and consequently as to when the Preparatory Commission can draw up the programme of the Conference and when the Conference itself can be convened.

Nevertheless, the work has been pursued with such energy and has reached such a stage of development that the Third Committee believes that it will be possible to draw up the programme of the Conference at the beginning of next year, and accordingly proposes that the Assembly should congratulate those who have taken part in this work.

It will then be for the Council to fix the date of convening the Conference. In this connection it should be pointed out that, while great progress has been made with regard to security, thanks to the Locarno Agreements, this progress only affects one part of the continent of Europe.

For this reason it appeared necessary to state that the limitation and reduction of armaments should "correspond to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security." Furthermore, there can be no question of solving the problem of disarmament at the first attempt. As

security increases, disarmament will increase. The Disarmament Conference will, therefore, only be the first of a series and, even apart from the importance of the reductions and limitations which it may bring about, it must in any case have the immense advantage of transforming into an definite period to any possibility of competition in armaments.

In these circumstances there can be no objection in principle to contemplating the possibility of holding a conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Several members of the Third Committee, however, have emphasised the grave disappointment which would be felt by public opinion if, after it had been announced for a definite date, it proved impossible to hold the Conference at the date in question. The Third Committee duly weighed this drawback and made allowance for it, to the extent of recommending that the Conference should be held before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, "unless material difficulties render this impossible," and it emphasises the considerable importance of surmounting such difficulties and accelerating the work of the technical Commissions, which must first be completed before the Preparatory Commission can usefully meet. The Third Committee has therefore decided to propose to the Assembly the adoption of a resolution (see page 16 for text) asking the Council to convene a first conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties should render this impossible, in order to agree upon the first stage of the work of disarmament.

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War.* (Rapporteur : M. Guerrero, Salvador.)

The Third Committee has considered the problem of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, and has noted the close connection which exists between this problem and the other items on its agenda ; namely, that of the limitation and general reduction of armaments, that of the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war, and that of statistical information concerning this trade. The close connection between these questions is due to the fact that, on the one hand, several countries experience great difficulty in adopting the standard form recommended by the last Assembly for the communication of statistical information to the Secretariat before ratifying the Convention ; that, on the other hand, the coming into force of the Convention on the Trade in Arms is delayed because most countries cannot ratify it until the cognate problem of the private manufacture of arms has been solved ; and finally, that it might prove equally difficult to ratify a convention on the latter subject before knowing what a general convention on the limitation of armaments would be.

The problem of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war is raised in precise terms in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It has received the constant attention of the Assembly since the foundation of the League. Document A. 47, 1926. IX, distributed to the Assembly, contains a preliminary Draft Convention prepared by the Committee of Enquiry of the Committee of the Council, together with other documents, including a report submitted by M. Benes and adopted by the Council, and a Council resolution drawing the attention of the Assembly to the connection which exists between this problem and the more general question now being considered by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The Third Committee unanimously recognises that the patient and methodical enquiries which the different Committees of the Council and of various Assemblies have conducted in this matter make it possible to conclude that, from a technical point of view, the problem might be solved in the near future. There was, however, evidence of two currents of opinion in the Committee with regard to the desirability of convening, immediately, an international conference to conclude the desired Convention. Though the Committee was unanimous concerning the necessity for dealing with this question as soon as possible, the opinion was expressed that it would be desirable to avoid separating the work connected with the private manufacture of arms from the preparatory work in connection with the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments—a problem of which the private manufacture of arms, after all, forms but a part. Unanimity was reached on the basis of a conditional proposal to the effect that the lesser problem was capable of early solution in any case, either by its inclusion in the programme of the General Conference on Disarmament, if the latter can be convened before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, or, failing this, by means of a special Conference.

Your Committee therefore proposes that you should adopt the following resolution (see page 16 for text).

ANNEX XIV.—*General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.* (Rapporteur : M. Andreas Oldenburg, Denmark.)

This year, the Fourth Committee instructed its general *Rapporteur* to deal with all the questions included in its agenda except that of arrears of contributions, which, in accordance with precedent, was referred to a special sub-committee ; the proposals of the Fourth Committee on this matter were embodied in a special report to the Assembly.

At the beginning of its report, the Committee desires to pay its tribute to the first Financial Director of the League of Nations, who has just relinquished his duties as a member of the Secretariat. The sound financial organisation of the League is in no small measure due to the untiring efforts and the thorough technical knowledge of Sir Herbert Ames.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1925.

The Committee unanimously recommends the Assembly to approve the accounts of the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they have been submitted to it. It also associates itself with the various recommendations formulated by the Auditor in the reports attached to the closed accounts.

II.—1927 BUDGET.

A.—*Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League.*

After discussion, the Committee adopted the following Resolution proposed by the delegate for India :—

The Fourth Committee,

Noting the tendency of the Budget of the League to increase, and considering that, in the present financial state of most countries of the world, every effort should be made to resist this tendency ;

Is of opinion that, as a preliminary to the discussion of the details of the Budget and as a general guide to their consideration, it is desirable, without putting obstacles in the way of the development of the League, to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States shall not normally in future exceed their contributions for the current year ;

And that copies of this Resolution should be communicated to other Committees concerned with measures involving expenditure.

It was agreed that this Resolution should be interpreted in the light of the speeches made during the discussion, which is recorded in the Committee's minutes. The purpose of the Resolution is to serve as a serious warning likely to exercise influence on all concerned ; on the other hand, it must not prevent future sessions of the Assembly from undertaking work of essential importance.

During the discussion of the Budget, the Secretary-General stated that the principle he had adopted, and which he intended to observe in the future, was to charge to item 3. "Unforeseen expenditure subject to special vote of the Council," only expenditure which could not be entered against any heading already included in the Budget. This appropriation, which amounts to 500,000 francs, is exclusively reserved for expenditure of a political nature, whereas the other items in respect of unforeseen expenditure are included in the Budget in order to meet other unexpected contingencies arising in the course of the year.

The Budget of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations contains a certain number of credits corresponding to expenses which may not actually have to be incurred, but which the Secretary-General is bound to take into account owing to the provisions of the Covenant or of Treaties or resolutions by the Council and the Assembly. In the administration of a State, these estimates would not appear in the ordinary budget, but would, if necessary, be asked for in the form of supplementary credits. Owing, however, to the fact that the Assembly only meets once a year, the Secretary-General and the competent officials of the autonomous organisations are compelled to include in the Budget comparatively large sums to provide for all contingencies which may arise during the ensuing year.

Certain members of the Committee expressed the opinion that measures might perhaps be taken to obviate the increased contributions which result from the present system. The Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission undertook to consider, before the next ordinary session of the Assembly, whether it would be possible to comply with the suggestions submitted during the discussion and which are recorded in the Commission's minutes.

As the result of a long discussion which arose during the debate on the Budget of the Labour Organisation, but which in reality referred to the financial system of the League of Nations as a whole, the Fourth Committee recognised that it would be difficult to make the present system of supervision more effective by means of new regulations. As the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission pointed out, there are three different aspects to the question. The control of expenditure and accounts is effected by the Auditor ; the present Auditor is the highest official in the Italian Treasury, who submits his report to the Supervisory Commission, which examines it after it has been previously studied in detail by the *Rapporteur*. In the second place, supervision of the Budget estimates in respect of work undertaken as the result of decisions by the competent organisations falls upon the Supervisory Commission, which, as is shown by its reports, effects considerable saving in the draft budgets submitted to it. Finally, as regards new work undertaken by the Assembly or the development of work that has already been begun, the power of decision lies with the Fourth Committee and, in the last resort, with the Assembly. Their intervention is facilitated by the adoption of the resolution submitted by the delegation for India. After discussion the Committee considered that this system was practical and satisfactory as far as it goes ; a better degree of correlation between the decisions of the delegates on the different Committees would ease the task of the Fourth Committee, and the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee should be given sufficient time to study all proposals with the desired thoroughness.

When the credits relating to salaries of the Secretariat were being considered, a discussion arose regarding the "representation" of the different nationalities on the Secretariat. The Secretary-General repeated the assurances which he had given to the Committee last year. Although "administrative" posts (précis-writers, translators, stenographers, &c.) are as a general rule reserved for the nationals of English-speaking or French-speaking countries, the Secretary-General will continue to do what he can in order that, having regard to the necessary qualifications of the different candidates, the higher posts may as far as possible be distributed among the nationals of the different States Members of the League of Nations. It should be pointed out, however, that owing to the contracts which were concluded as a result of the decision by the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly, vacancies are few and there is hardly any increase in the number of posts from year to year. The Secretary-General draws attention to the fact that, whenever a new post is created, preference is given—granted equal qualifications—to nationals of States "represented" either inadequately or not at all. In order that recruiting may be on a widely international basis, a perfect knowledge of the official languages is only deemed indispensable in the case of administrative posts. On the other hand, while preserving their nationality, officials of the League of Nations are responsible in the performance of their duties to the Secretary-General alone ; they cannot demand or receive instructions from their Government or from any other authority.

In agreement with a proposal made by one of the delegates, the Secretary-General promised next year to communicate the Staff Regulations to the members of the Fourth Committee, and to arrange that the Staff List now distributed to the members of the Fourth Committee should contain a list of resignations for the year.

extreme importance, but is entirely new for the Assembly. It had to recognise that the very serious question thus raised could not on a first examination be sufficiently defined. For these reasons, and with due regard to the recent date at which this proposal was made, the Committee is of opinion that it would be preferable to place this question on the agenda of the next Annual Assembly. It was unanimously decided, therefore, to propose to the Assembly to place this draft resolution on the agenda of the next Assembly, if this course seems convenient to the movers of the proposal. In any case, it can but state that it does not seem possible to the members of the Agenda Committee to study this question in the course of the present session of the Assembly."

Gentlemen, the recommendation of the Agenda Committee is to the effect that this question should be comprised in the agenda of the next Assembly. If the movers of the proposal have no objection to raise, I would suggest that the Assembly decide that this question be placed on the agenda of the next Assembly.

As I hear no objections, I will consider that proposal approved.

The proposal was approved.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Seventh Assembly.

ANNEX I.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Assembly on the 8th September 1926.*

Before I address myself to those aspects of the work of the League which are of special interest to India, I wish to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Indian Delegation to this Assembly and in my personal capacity as a Ruling Prince of India, my most sincere and respectful congratulations on your election to preside over the work of this session.

This is not the first occasion on which an Indian Prince has had the honour of addressing the Assembly of the League. Among my predecessors Their Highnesses the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the Maharajas of Bikanir and Patiala have been privileged, as members of other Indian Delegations, to tell you something of the awakening of interest and sympathy among the Governments and the masses of India for the ideals and work of the League.

It may not be out of place to mention that India, with its vast area and population composed of peoples of different races and creeds speaking languages which are as entirely different in different parts of the country as, for instance, Portuguese is from Russian or Swedish from Greek, can more appropriately be called a sub-continent, and two-fifths of this entire Indian peninsula and one-fifth of its population are ruled by the Indian Princes and Chiefs, under the suzerainty and the protection of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The principal Ruling Princes are absolutely independent in the internal administration of their States. The British Indian law is not in force in their territories, nor can the Indian Legislature legislate for them, and the High Courts of Justice in British India have no jurisdiction over their subjects.

I and my brother Princes keenly feel the honour and responsibility of being included among the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League. We are glad, as practical administrators conversant with the day-to-day problems of government, to be allowed the opportunity of bringing our personal experience to the common stock and sharing in your important deliberations.

I feel and have no hesitation in declaring that we Indian Princes, as rulers of our people, have better opportunities of diffusing the knowledge and the aims of the League—i.e. universal peace and harmony and mutual co-operation for the welfare of humanity on the basis of equality of nations—amongst our people and from there to the remotest corners of the Indian Empire than others who are differently placed *vis-à-vis* to ourselves.

With the spread of education and the knowledge and experience gained by travel in foreign countries, to which the people of India are now beginning to apply themselves, India is awakening to a spirit of nationalism and, with its own traditions and ideals and the friendly guidance and assistance of the British Government, I sincerely hope it will one day, not in the far distant future, achieve its glorious goal and will become a united nation and self-governing country, in all its rights and privileges, like its sister dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa, and prove a jewel of outshining splendour in the Commonwealth of nations forming the British Empire.

India is well aware that it has been essential for the League hitherto to devote its main energies to solving the grave problems left behind by the Great War. We have watched with interest the unceasing efforts of the Council and the Assembly to devise some means of promoting the great ideals of security, arbitration and reduction of armaments and its zeal in pressing forward schemes for the economic and financial reconstruction of those countries most heavily stricken during the aftermath of the war.

India, though geographically far removed from the main scenes of these activities, has been privileged also to take some share in these endeavours. Several indeed of my countrymen have been associated in the work of League organisations directed to these objects. Among those now so engaged I may mention Sir Jagadis Bose, of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Sir Muhammad Rafique, of the Committee for the Codification of International Law, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference.

But the League has also undertaken other tasks imposed upon it by the Covenant in which India has a more direct interest and in which it has played a more conspicuous part. I speak of the international work in labour and social questions. India has been represented on the Governing Body of the Labour Organisation since 1923 as one of the eight chief industrial countries of the world. Her representatives have taken an active part in the discussions at the International Labour Conferences; they have also attended other important international gatherings organised by the League. Among these I may cite the Conferences on Transit and Communications, Customs, Passports, Opium, Traffic in Women and Children and Traffic in Arms. As a result of India's participation in this work, 12 important international Conventions concluded at the League have been

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission added that, after deduction of the sums already spent, the fund amounted to-day to 7,972,135.51 francs, which were placed in fixed-term accounts in various banks at 5 per cent. interest.

The Secretary-General promised that the amount due from States should be included in the schedule of allocation for 1927, after deduction of the sums payable to them as annuities during 1927. This is the basis on which they will be requested to pay their contributions towards the expenses of the new financial year.

The Committee was informed by the *Rapporteur* to the Special Session of the Assembly on the question of the new buildings that, instead of erecting temporary huts, for which authority had previously been given, the Secretary-General had been able to purchase a building situated behind the Secretariat, which it will be possible to sell at a remunerative price as soon as the Secretariat is established in the new building. The Committee ratified this decision of the Secretary-General, which will result in a considerable saving.

The Secretary-General, in reply to a question put by the same delegate, explained that, as it had been impossible to come to an amicable arrangement with the owner of the property called "La Perle du Lac," he had been informed that the Genevese authorities were taking the necessary measures for expropriation, although, as regards the League of Nations, all negotiations would be carried on with the Federal Government.

(b) The Fourth Committee was informed that the Supervisory Commission was considering a suggestion to set up an Administrative Tribunal to deal with all cases of dispute in regard to the carrying out of staff contracts which might arise between the heads of the League's Organisations and their subordinates. When the scheme has been definitely drawn up by the Supervisory Commission, a proposal will be laid before the Assembly.

(c) The Committee approved the Supervisory Commission's recommendations in regard to the sums to be allocated to the Deputy Auditor, and the printing of a bibliographical bulletin, giving a list of works relating to the League of Nations. It decided that it would be impossible, without increasing expenditure on staff and material, to publish an annual list of articles on the League of Nations appearing in the periodical publications of the various countries. It also concurred in the opinion of the Supervisory Commission that there was no justification either in equity or law for restoring, in favour of the Heads of Sections of the International Labour Office, Article 60 of the Statute, which provided for a payment on the expiration of contracts. It noted, however, that the Supervisory Commission would have no objection to these officials bringing the question before the Administrative Tribunal when it had been set up.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

(a) The Committee took note of the report of the Council and of the Director of the International Labour Office on new works involving additional expenditure on the part of the League.

(b) The Committee approved a proposal of the Council to grant an allowance of 2,000 Swiss francs to members of the Mandates Commission who have sat more than 30 days during any one given year. It noted that this proposal had been approved by the Supervisory Commission, which had particularly emphasised that this case must not in any way constitute a precedent, in view of the special situation of the members of the Mandates Commission, who, according to the Commission's Rules of Procedure, may not fill any office which makes them directly dependent upon their Governments. The Supervisory Commission also noted that the sessions of the Mandates Commission were longer than those of other League Committees (41 meetings in 1925), and that the study of the many and voluminous reports transmitted by the mandatory Powers imposed heavy work upon the members of the Commission.

(c) The Committee noted with satisfaction the agreement between the Allocation of Expenses Committee and the German Delegation concerning the Reich's contribution to the expenses of the League. The Committee therefore recommends the Assembly to fix Germany's number of units at 79 in the scale of the allocation of League expenses.

(d) At the request of a member of the Committee, the Secretary-General undertook, if and when a suitable occasion occurred, to draw the attention of the Council to the desirability of securing a higher proportion of nationals of States which are not Members of the Council on the various League Committees.

(e) The Committee proposed that the Assembly should ratify the amendment to Article 6 of the Staff Provident Fund Regulations, approved by the Council on 15th March. The first paragraph of the amended article will be as follows:—

"On the termination of a member's services or at his death, the balance standing to the credit of his account, including interest up to the date of termination of service or death, calculated at the rate of the last annual distribution of interest, and interest thereafter down to the date of tender of payment, at the rate of 3 per cent. or such other rate as the Board of Management may fix, shall be paid to him, or, if the member is dead, to the person or persons entitled under the annex to this article."

(f) The Supervisory Commission having noted that certain difficulties have been experienced in connection with the payment of expenses to members of League Commissions, the Fourth Committee considers it desirable to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution with a view to strengthening the authority of the competent officials of the Secretariat:—

The Assembly:

Notes that the Internal Control Service of the League of Nations experiences difficulty and is caused considerable trouble by the fact that members of Committees and other persons who have to submit requests for repayment do not always take into consideration the exact terms of the regulations of the League of Nations governing the administration of the funds; and, therefore,

Requests members of Committees and all other persons performing work of any kind whatever at the request and at the expense of the League of Nations to comply strictly with the above regulations, and in case of doubt, to apply for information beforehand the competent officials.

(g) The Fourth Committee noted a report submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission on the question of publication; the text of this report is given as an annex to the report of the Commission. It should be noted that the suggested changes in the various items in the Budget estimates do not involve any increase in the total.

The Fourth Committee also proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution, which has been drafted with a view to giving effect to the proposals made by the Supervisory Commission in its May report:—

The Assembly :

While appreciating the results of the sale of publications and approving the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General relative to the extension of these sales and a stricter supervision of the employment of the grants for printing;

Decides to draw the attention of the Advisory Committees and the Conferences convened by the League to the heavy expense entailed by the publication of their minutes and requests them to consider whether the publication of their discussions would not frequently be better effected by means of a detailed report giving as exactly as possible an account of their work;

Decides that the minutes of Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General;

Requests the Supervisory Commission to report to it again next year on the printing expenses and to indicate the saving effected in consequence of this decision.

(h) In accordance with a proposal made by the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee, considering that the salaries of all officials of lower rank than Under Secretary-General are subject to an annual increment, and, moreover, that members of the Secretariat of higher rank than Chief of Section are not entitled to share in the Provident Fund, proposes that the salary of the Treasurer of the League should be on the following scale:—

40,000 francs, rising by annual increments of 1,000 francs to 45,000 francs.

(i) The Committee has been informed by the Supervisory Commission that, owing to an error which occurred in the preparation of the Budget, the number of posts of Member of Section A in the Information Section should be increased from 10 to 11, and the Members of Section B *reduced* from 7 to 6. This correction will not involve any change in the 1927 Budget.

(j) The Supervisory Commission informed the Commission that the 1926 Conference of the International Labour Organisation was in session for a longer period than had been anticipated in the Budget estimates, and that consequently the appropriation in the Budget was exceeded. No transfer can, however, be made, as no saving can be effected on the only other item in the same chapter.

After considering the question, the Committee has decided to propose that the Assembly authorise the Governing Body, as an entirely exceptional measure and notwithstanding Article 29 of the Financial Regulations, to sanction the transfer of funds from another chapter in the Budget.

The only other solution would have been to ask the Assembly to vote a supplementary credit for 1926; but this method would have been both unpractical and unnecessary, as savings can probably be made on the items in Chapter II.

V.—REPORT OF THE SALARIES ADJUSTMENT COMMITTEE.

The Fourth Committee approved the following report submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission:—

"The Commission have, as instructed by the Council and the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, examined the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee dated 18th September. They have also gone carefully into the statistics referred to in that report, and considered the circumstances in which those statistics were obtained.

"The conclusion of the Commission is that, although there seems to have been a certain rise in the cost of living since 1923, the figures, as they stand, do not raise the general index number of 1923 by the *full* 10 per cent. which, according to the existing rules, is necessary to justify a rise in salaries. The Commission is thus unable to make any recommendation affecting the Budget of 1927.

"This, however, does not close the matter. The criticisms of the Salaries Adjustment Committee on the figures which were employed in the decision of 1923, and the claims which would arise if those criticisms are justified, have led the Commission to a closer scrutiny of the whole statistical basis and history of the present method of varying the salaries of the staff with reference to the cost of living in Geneva. This scrutiny has forced the Commission to the conclusion that the statistical features are in several respects unsatisfactory, and that in certain other respects the equity of the present system requires re-examination. Without therefore advancing any opinion as to the practical result of such an examination, the Commission requests the Assembly to authorise it, before next year, to study the entire system and its application, and to submit the result of its study to the Assembly of 1927. The adjustment of salaries from time to time must always be a task of delicacy and difficulty, and, if it is to be maintained as a principle, it is essential that its basis should be unassailable and that the staff should be thoroughly satisfied of its justice."

The Fourth Committee's Report would not be complete without mentioning the gratitude of its members to their chairman, M. Titulesco, the distinguished delegate of Roumania, who has conducted the Committee's discussions with authority, tact and impartiality. A tribute must also be paid to M. Stefan Osusky, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, whose clear and lucid explanations have, time and again, served to illuminate the Committee's discussions and guide its decisions.

(For text of Resolution adopted by the Assembly see page 18.)

ANNEX XIV.A.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on Modifications to be made in the 1927 Budget.*

The following report was submitted by the Supervisory Commission to the Fourth Committee:—
It was adopted by the Fourth Committee subject to the following two modifications, which were made after a delegation from the Fourth Committee had had a discussion with a delegation from the Fifth Committee.

1. *Settlement of Armenian Refugees.*

The inclusion in the Budget of a sum of 15,000 francs was approved, subject to the conditions already set forth,* in order to provide for the printing and distribution of literature regarding the proposed financial operation and to permit Dr. Nansen—or his representative—to lay his proposals before possible contributors in Europe or America.

2. *Refugee Service.*

A supplementary credit of 18,750 francs was voted in order to obviate the necessity of curtailing the work of the Berlin Delegation of the Refugee Service.

Report of the Supervisory Commission.

A.—DEDUCTION OF THE GERMAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE BUDGET OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION FOR 1926 FROM THE GENERAL BUDGET FOR 1927.

Germany, before her entry into the League of Nations, had already adhered to the International Labour Office. Her contribution for 1926 had been fixed at 265,766 francs, of which she has so far paid 132,883 francs, the remainder being due by the end of the year. According to the Financial Regulations (Article 22), the total amount receivable from States not Members of the League must be shown separately in the Budget and, "when received, be applied to reduce the total sum chargeable for the following year to the Members of the League." The sum of 265,766 francs must therefore be deducted from the general Budget of the League for 1927, since this sum has been, or will be, received by the International Labour Office and will proportionally reduce the amount of the next Budget due to be paid to the Labour Office by the Secretary-General.

B.—SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS: SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS..

1. *Committee for the Protection of Women and Children in certain Territories in the Near East.*

The Supervisory Commission has received a request for supplementary credits for the work of the Committee for the Protection of Women and Children in certain territories in the Near East. By a resolution taken on 19th September, the Fifth Committee recommended the Assembly to vote a sum of 45,000 francs for Miss Jeppé's mission at Aleppo and to allocate to Dr. Kennedy a credit of 20,000 francs for the work of the League of Nations Neutral House in Constantinople.

The Supervisory Commission desires to point out that it was clearly understood last year, when the situation was most carefully examined, that the 1927 Budget should not contain any credit for the work undertaken by Miss Jeppé and Dr. Kennedy, but that reliance would henceforth be placed upon private effort to meet the expenses of the Aleppo Home and the Neutral House in Constantinople.

Accordingly, in spite of the importance of these missions, the Supervisory Commission recommends that no new credit be included in the Budget for the work in question.

In view of the interest shown by the League of Nations in the question of Armenians, the Commission considers that the patronage of the League of Nations should not be withdrawn from Miss Jeppé; the Treasurer would continue to serve as an intermediary between Miss Jeppé and private organisations.

2. *Settlement of Armenian Refugees.*

On 22nd September the Fifth Committee decided to recommend the Assembly to include in the 1927 Budget a credit of 25,000 francs to meet the expenses of the Committee which the Council might desire to set up to study the possibility of collecting the necessary funds with a view to settling the Armenians in their National Home.

The Supervisory Commission desires, in the first place, to point out that the approval which it gave last year to the credit of 50,000 francs included in the Budget for 1926 was contingent upon the prospects of raising a loan of £900,000. In its report to the Fourth Committee of the Sixth Assembly, the Commission expressed itself as follows:—

On the understanding, therefore, that, should the main scheme prove impracticable, this credit would automatically lapse, the Supervisory Commission has decided to recommend its adoption by the Fourth Committee.

In its report to the Council, the Financial Committee recognised that, in the present circumstances, it was impossible to carry out the scheme devised by the special committee appointed by the Council in accordance with the resolution of the last Assembly, and the Supervisory Commission therefore considers that it would not be sound financial policy to include a credit in the present Budget, particularly as the realisation of the scheme does not depend upon the League of Nations (see decision of the Fourth Committee, page 1).

3. *International Convention on Slavery.*

The following draft resolution has been submitted to the Commission, having been adopted by the Sixth Committee on 23rd September 1926:—

The Assembly desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto and therefore

* See paras. 1, 2 and 3 of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 25th September 1926, on the subject of the Settlement of Armenian Refugees.

begs that the Council will prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed to furnish spontaneously with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.

The Supervisory Commission recommends that the Fourth Committee should include in the Budget for 1927 a credit of 1,000 francs to cover the cost of printing a list mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention will have communicated to the Secretariat; only when the Convention has come into force will it be necessary to consider whether a further credit must be provided to meet the cost of printing any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to ensure the gradual abolition of slavery.

4. *Third General Conference on Communications and Transit.*

On 22nd September the Second Committee adopted the following resolution, which was forwarded to the Supervisory Commission through the Chairman of the Fourth Committee :—

The Second Committee :

Considering that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit will have to deal particularly with the questions of liaison between the Organisation and countries outside Europe, and the best method of extending the services which the Organisation is able to render in connection with the investigation of the main problems of communications affecting relations between continents ;

Taking into account the difficulties experienced in this connection by the Organisation which have been referred to in the reports of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit ;

Authorising an exception to the present practice of holding conferences of the League of Nations ;

Expresses the hope that, should the Fourth Committee consider it possible to grant the necessary credits, the Council should convene this Conference in a town outside Europe.

In view of the fact that the representatives of the non-European Governments have not had time to consult their Governments upon this question, it would appear difficult to include in the Budget for 1927 a credit for a conference of the kind contemplated by the Second Committee's resolution.

Nevertheless, the Supervisory Commission will sympathetically consider any proposals which may later be made to it with a view to holding outside Europe an important conference of the League of Nations.

5. *Liaison in Technical Matters with Latin America.*

The Paraguayan Delegation has submitted the following proposal to the Fourth Committee :—

In view of the fact that the technical organisations of the League of Nations will probably be called upon in the coming year to take action in Latin-American countries, it is desirable that a credit for that purpose be included in the budget. As it is not yet possible to know to which technical organisation such action will fall, I would propose that the provision in question appear in the form of an additional credit under the rubric "Liaison with Latin America," with the following indication as to the method of its employment: "Liaison in technical matters with the countries of Latin America."

For the moment, as it is not possible as yet to state precisely what form the action referred to will take, it is of no use seeking to fix the exact amount of the necessary expenditure. I would therefore propose to set a maximum of 30,000 gold francs, on the understanding that very precise details will later be given in regard to the application of the credit in question.

The Supervisory Commission, recognising the advantage of interesting the Latin-American countries more directly in the technical activities of the League of Nations, recommends that a credit of 30,000 francs should be entered under the item "Liaison with Latin America," under the special heading "Technical Investigations to be undertaken in Latin America."

Several examples of practical value have been suggested to the Commission, notably in connection with the campaign against infant mortality, malaria, the compilation of medical statistics, &c.

The Commission considers that it would be better not to make a premature choice of one or other of these subjects. It will be for the Secretary-General, when full information has been collected, to take a decision as to the ultimate purposes for which this credit will be employed.

6. *Miscellaneous Credits.*

(a) *Tokio Office of the Information Section.*

The Supervisory Commission recommends the Fourth Committee to make an increase of 10,000 francs in the credit provided in the budget for the Tokio Office of the Information Section. The two chief reasons for this increase are as follows :—

(1) The rate of the yen rose last year from 2 Swiss francs to 2.50, and 20,000 Swiss francs, which represented 10,000 yen last year, now only represent 8,000 yen.

(2) In view of the inadequacy of the funds at his disposal, the Director of the Office has been obliged to apply to the Japanese League of Nations Union for the premises he requires. The Japanese Government also put in the telephone free of charge. These arrangements are only temporary, and the Office will sooner or later have to pay for the lease of the premises and for the telephone.

(b) Internal Control Office.

The Supervisory Commission recommends the Fourth Committee to increase the number of clerks in the Internal Control Office from three to four, the present staff not being sufficient for the work. It is understood that this appointment will be made for only one year and that the Commission's *Rapporteur*, when examining the 1928 budget, will consider the advisability of maintaining the post. The additional credit required is 5,000 francs.

(c) Miscellaneous Staff at Geneva.

It has been found necessary further to strengthen the vigilance staff employed in the Secretariat buildings. The Supervisory Commission proposes that the Fourth Committee should provide for the engagement of additional staff for this purpose, whose total salaries would amount to 21,600 francs. On the other hand, the sub-heading "Temporary Staff" of the item "Session of the Assembly" can be reduced by 1,800 francs (item 1 of the budget).

(d) Reduction of Armaments.

The work of the organs of the Council dealing with disarmament has developed to a much greater extent than was anticipated when the budget was drawn up. The Sub-Commissions, having sat for over 10 weeks, will resume their work as soon as the Assembly closes, and it is certain that this work will continue over a considerable part of next year.

In these circumstances, the staff of the Section has proved insufficient, and the credits provided for the costs of printing have been placed at a figure which is obviously too low.

The Supervisory Commission recommends the Fourth Committee to provide on a quite temporary basis for the addition of two stenographers to the staff and for the increase of the credit provided for the printing and documentation expenses of the Commissions and Sub-Commissions. The additional credits will amount to 18,000 francs in the case of the staff and to 30,000 francs in the case of printing.

C.—SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS : INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

1. *Refugee Service.*

The Supervisory Commission has taken cognisance of the resolution adopted by the Fifth Committee with regard to the question of Russian and Armenian refugees.

In agreement with the Director of the International Labour Office, the Commission has reduced the credits provided for agencies abroad by 5,000 francs; the budget, as approved by the Commission, therefore amounts to 306,575 francs, this constituting an increase of 3,575 francs over the estimates provisionally entered in the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

The Supervisory Commission is unable to concur in the Fifth Committee's proposal that the League of Nations should increase by 18,750 francs the credit provided for the Berlin Office to make up for the reduction of 50 per cent. which it is thought Germany has decided to make in 1927 in the contribution which she previously paid to the Office.

The Commission is fully aware of the importance of the work done by the Berlin Office. On the other hand, it does not consider it possible to increase the sum paid in 1926 by the League of Nations; if, therefore, the German Government finds it necessary to reduce its contribution for 1927 to half the sum it contributed to the Office in 1926, the Commission considers that the total expenditure of the Office for 1927 should be reduced accordingly (see decision of the Fourth Committee, page 1).

2. *Committees.*

After going into the question thoroughly, the Supervisory Commission had decided to accept the proposals made by the Director of the International Labour Office with regard to the creation, as decided upon by the General Conference, of two further committees (Committee of Experts for the study of the reports in connection with Article 408 of the Treaty, and Committee of Experts on native labour), which will involve an increase of 10,000 francs in the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

ANNEX XV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs. (Rapporteur: M. Veverka, Czecho-Slovakia.)*

The Eighth Session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs met from 26th May to 8th June 1926. The report on the work of the Committee at this session was examined by the Council during its meeting on 2nd September. The Council took note of the report and instructed the Secretary-General to take the action arising out of the resolutions contained therein.

The enormous extent of the illicit traffic in opium and drugs continues to be the most serious difficulty confronting the Advisory Committee. Various members of the Fifth Committee underlined this fact and laid stress on the necessity for international action against this world-wide traffic. The Advisory Committee has expressed the opinion that an effective control of the international traffic will be extremely difficult until the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925 comes into operation. The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of early ratification of this Convention and, on the proposal of the British representative, decided to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of a resolution on the subject (see resolution 2).

The Fifth Committee also agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of the furnishing by Governments of annual reports and other information regularly and without delay. It should not be forgotten that the Governments which have ratified the Hague Convention are under a formal obligation to furnish such information (Article 21).

The Fifth Committee takes note of the opinion expressed by the Advisory Committee to the effect that the ratification of the Hague Convention by Turkey would mark an important progress.

The delegate of Persia informed the Committee that the question of the ratification of the Hague Convention by his country would be examined when the Commission of Enquiry into the opium situation in Persia had issued its report.

The Fifth Committee again calls attention to the increase in the illicit traffic from the Persian Gulf and expresses the hope that the various Governments concerned will take steps to remedy the situation in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. It also calls attention to the importance of direct communication between the authorities entrusted with the enforcement of the laws with regard to the suppression of the illicit traffic.

A suggestion was made by the representative of Greece that, when a subject of special importance to a particular country not represented on the Advisory Committee is to be considered by that Committee, the Committee should invite that country to send a representative to attend the discussion. The Fifth Committee thinks this suggestion should be communicated to the Advisory Committee, which will no doubt wish to give effect to it so far as it is practicable to do so.

The Fifth Committee appreciates the efforts made by the Government of India towards diminishing the consumption of opium and dangerous drugs and the export of opium, and in particular the decision to extinguish totally the export of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes within a period of 10 years.

The Fifth Committee heard with great interest a statement made by the delegate for the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the effect that his country was in a position to satisfy the legitimate needs of opium in Europe, and that, in his opinion, it would therefore be possible eventually to cease imports from the East altogether. The production of the Kingdom amounts to about 150,000 kilos a year and effective control would be very easy to institute.

The Fifth Committee unanimously adopted the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, together with the resolutions contained therein. The delegate of Italy abstained from voting. The delegate of the Netherlands did not oppose the adoption of the report, but he made a reservation on behalf of his Government concerning the second resolution contained in the report of the Advisory Committee.*

The delegate of Italy made the following statement :—

The Italian delegation, in view of the gravity of the situation exhibited by the report presented to the Committee, considers it necessary for the improvement of the situation to adopt the following measures :—

(1) That the Advisory Committee be composed in equitable proportions of persons acquainted with the problems of narcotics and belonging to producing and manufacturing countries on the one hand and consuming countries on the other ;

(2) That the Advisory Committee thus composed should proceed to take effective measures for a strict application of the Hague Convention ;

(3) That the Secretariat of the League of Nations should be placed in a position to carry out the duties assigned to it by the Covenant and the resolution of December 15th, 1920.

The Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions. (See page 21 for text.)

ANNEX XVI.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.* (Rapporteur : M. Nagai, Japan.)

The Fifth Committee has considered the report on the work of the Fifth Session of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children and has passed unanimously the following resolution :—

The Fifth Committee approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the resolutions contained in that report.

The Fifth Committee took note of the fact that the Council, during its June meeting, had already instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action in connection with the resolutions contained in the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

The Fifth Committee has noted with satisfaction the friendly co-operation which exists between the authorities in many countries and the private organisations for the suppression of the traffic in women and children. It expresses the hope that the Governments will furnish their annual reports regularly and without delay, in order to put the Traffic in Women and Children Committee in a position to fulfil the delicate task entrusted to it.

Amongst the questions dealt with in the report of the Committee, the complex problems connected with the expulsion of foreign prostitutes were the subject of an interesting discussion. The Fifth Committee expresses the hope that the Governments will furnish the Traffic in Women and Children Committee with the information asked for in order to enable it to pursue its study of this question. It expresses the same hope with regard to the question of licensed houses, in view of the fact that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee proposes to make a report to the Council on this subject in accordance with Resolution IV of the Council of 11th June 1924.

Various delegates pointed out the usefulness of the employment of women in police forces. The Fifth Committee draws attention to the importance of co-operation of social benevolent institutions with the police in all matters dealing with prostitution and all questions relating to it.

The Fifth Committee is of opinion that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee should continue to examine the problem of the protection of migrant women and children.

It expresses the desire that the Committee should also proceed with its study of alcoholism in relation to the traffic in women and children.

The Fifth Committee is glad to find that the question of the suppression of obscene publications has been taken up by the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, and that the Council has instructed the Secretariat to obtain the periodical reports recommended in para. 9 of the Final Act of

* This resolution reads as follows : "The Committee recommends that the administrations called upon to decide on an application for export of drugs to a country not applying a system of import authorisations should endeavour to ascertain whether the application submitted to them is a legitimate one. This recommendation is made in the spirit which inspired Article 18 of the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925."

the International Conference of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications.

Several members were of the opinion that the field of activity of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee should be enlarged so as to cover the whole problem of prostitution in its entirety.

They further pointed out the importance of the mental and hygienic side of the question, and expressed the desire to see the problem treated with due consideration to national points of view regarding the differences in the sexual character of the peoples involved as well as the material factors.

The delegate for Cuba presented a draft resolution relating to an investigation, with the help of scientific and humanitarian national societies, on the various aspects of prostitution and the causes leading to it. This proposal was examined by a Sub-Committee, which came to the conclusion that, before framing a resolution, it would be advisable to have in hand the report of the Committee of Experts, appointed by a resolution of the Council of 19th April 1923. The Fifth Committee approves of the conclusion of the Sub-Committee and expresses the hope that the report of the Committee of Experts will be presented on a broad basis, so as to throw light on the various aspects of the question of prostitution.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following resolution to the Seventh Assembly :—

The Assembly approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the resolutions contained in that report.

ANNEX XVII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare.* (Rapporteur: Mr. W. A. Riddell, Canada.)

The Fifth Committee of this Assembly has considered the report on the work of the second session of the Child Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and I have great pleasure in stating that it has reached a unanimous decision.

It has briefly reviewed the history of international child welfare work under the League of Nations, giving special attention to the resolutions of the Fifth and Sixth Ordinary Sessions of the Assembly, and to those of the Fortieth and Forty-first Sessions of the Council dealing with this subject.

The Fifth Committee is of one mind as regards the important place that child welfare work should occupy in the social and humanitarian work of the League. At the same time it appreciates the fact that practical considerations must sometimes limit the scope of international co-operation in this field.

The Committee desires to express its thanks for the work done by the Child Welfare Committee, and endorses its resolutions on infant welfare, the age of marriage and consent, family allowances and child labour. It agrees, in the circumstances, with the proposal of the Council to collaborate with the International Prison Commission in the study of Juvenile Courts; but expresses its opinion that such a study could most suitably be carried out by the Child Welfare Committee itself.

It considers it most desirable that the Child Welfare Committee should continue its enquiry into the effect of the cinema on children, and should make public its findings. It also agrees with the proposal of one of its members that the Child Welfare Committee's resolution on this subject (Resolution IX, section 1) would be strengthened by the inclusion of psychological experts on official boards for the censorship of films.

The Committee recognises the importance of recreation in the life of children and approves the proposal of the Child Welfare Committee to keep the question of recreation on its general programme; but is of opinion that the study of the question should be confined to the comparative study of those aspects of the subject on which "the comparison of methods and experiences of different countries . . . and international co-operation" may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with them.

The Committee has considered the resolutions of the Child Welfare Committee dealing with the evil effects of alcohol on the young, but, in view of the fact that a resolution on alcoholism is before the Assembly, recommends that the consideration of the Child Welfare Committee's resolution be postponed for the present.

The Committee also recommends that the study of biological education should be postponed for the present.

The Committee agrees in general with the resolutions adopted by the Council on 9th June and 2nd September on this subject.

At the request of the honourable delegate of India, the Committee draws attention to the caution expressed by the representatives of India in the Assembly and in the Fifth Committee, with regard to the necessity of proceeding with care in making investigations into conditions in countries which differ widely in types of civilisation.

The Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions. (See page 22 for text.)

ANNEX XVIIA.—*Resolutions adopted by the Child-Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People at its Second Session held at Geneva from the 25th March to the 1st April 1926.*

I. The Committee, being of the opinion that certain of the subjects on its agenda are in intimate relation with the questions of health, labour and mental training, decides :—

1. That a Sub-Committee, composed of the representative of the Health Committee, the representative of the International Labour Office and a representative of the Child-Welfare Committee, shall be appointed. The Committee invites the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation also to nominate a representative to assist the Sub-Committee in its work.

2. That this Sub-Committee shall study such questions as are referred to it and shall report to the Child-Welfare Committee at its next session.

II. The Committee decides to request the Council to invite the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to nominate a representative to serve on the Child-Welfare Committee. This representative shall have the same status as the representatives of the International Labour Office and the Health Committee.

III. The Committee has noted with interest the memorandum prepared by the Health Section and thanks it for this important work.

It considers that it would be well for the enquiry thus begun to be pursued from the special point of view of *early infancy*, by the collecting of legislative material, not only on matters of health, but also on social and legal conditions affecting the protection of the life and health of infants.

It refers to a Sub-Committee the definition of the term "early infancy" and the drafting of a programme or of a questionnaire on the basis of which this information may be collected and embodied in the report to be submitted to the Committee.

IV. The Liaison Sub-Committee is authorised to supervise the progress of the enquiry as to legislation in early infancy and to deal with any suggestions or advice which the Health Committee may give.

V. The Committee, having considered the provisional report on the age of consent and of marriage, requests the Council to instruct the Secretariat to invite those countries which have not replied to do so, and those countries which have supplied incomplete data to give the additional information required, in order that the Committee may be enabled to complete the study which it is making on the subject.

VI. The Child-Welfare Committee, having taken note of the report submitted by the International Labour Office on legislation relating to child labour, thanks the International Labour Office for this interesting report, and, recognising the necessity of referring all questions relating to labour to the International Labour Office, expresses the hope that the latter will continue to make representations to the Governments with a view to the ratification of international conventions by every country on the admission of children to labour. It also draws attention to the fact brought out by the investigations of the International Labour Office as to the relation between the laws on school attendance and labour legislation, and emphasises the importance of extending the age of compulsory school attendance up to the age fixed by international conventions as being the earliest at which children may be allowed to work.

VII. The attention of the Committee having been called to two questions set out in the resolution of Miss Lathrop, it asks the Liaison Sub-Committee to consider if, and how far, it would be practicable and desirable to make enquiries into these subjects and to present a report for consideration next year."

VIII. The Committee thanks the International Labour Office for the valuable report on the effect of the family allowance on the well-being of children. It appreciates that, while the effect of the system on the birth rate cannot as yet be stated with certainty, the action taken by equalisation funds, including family allowances, nursing bonuses and health services, must have a beneficial effect in reducing child mortality.

The Committee recognises that the well-being of children under normal circumstances must depend largely on the means of their parents, and that the value of the family allowance system, whether organised by the State or by private enterprise, depends on the extent to which it places in the hands of parents resources which, expanding with the size of the family, make it possible for the parents adequately to discharge their responsibilities towards their families.

The Committee therefore asks the International Labour Office to continue, in collaboration with the Secretariat and the voluntary associations, its study of the subject, especially with a view to obtaining exactly comparable data, and to report progress to the next meeting of the Committee.

IX. The Committee recognises, on the one hand, the attraction and importance of the cinematograph in certain circumstances from the point of view of the healthy recreation, instruction and education of children and young people, but it is convinced, on the other hand, that the abuse of the cinema has definitely harmful effects upon the minds of children and young people and, according to certain medical authorities, upon their nervous system and physical health.

The Committee, appreciating the interest felt by the International Institute on Intellectual Co-operation in the question of the cinematograph, desires to assure it of the importance which the Committee itself attaches to the question from the point of view of the normal and intellectual development of children and young people and requests it to devote special attention to the co-operation of all concerned in the production, circulation and utilisation of good films.

The Committee recommends:—

1. That, in each State, offices for control or preliminary censorship should be established, whose decisions would be enforced by fixed penalties, with a view to preventing the exhibition of demoralising films; the views of educationists and parents should, so far as possible, be represented in these offices.

2. That all possible means should be employed to encourage the exhibition and the international exchange of films calculated to promote the intellectual, moral and physical education of children and young people.

3. That an international understanding should be entered into by the various national offices with a view to communicating to each other the decisions adopted and the penalties imposed in their respective countries, and that such understanding should eventually be extended by means of international agreements to prevent the circulation and use of demoralising films.

4. That each State should prescribe the necessary measures of hygiene and security in connection with the ventilation, the cubic capacity, the exits and emergency exits of cinema theatres, and should take steps as soon as possible to prohibit the exhibition of inflammable films.

* The resolution of Miss Lathrop to which reference is made runs as follows:—

"It is proposed to authorise an enquiry into the special field of education for adolescents, the methods employed therein and its relation with the normal family and social life of the adult.

"It is proposed that in all the Committee's deliberations special attention should be paid to the relation between the life of children in agricultural districts and the education they receive in preparation for the normal family and social life of the adult."

X. The Committee, having taken note of a draft International Convention drawn up by the International Association for the Protection of Children on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support and living-abroad ;

And having also taken note of representations as to the desirability of making provision for the reciprocal enforcement in different countries : (1) of all obligations on parents for the maintenance of their families ; (2) of sentences imposed for the offence of deserting the family :

Decides that all these questions shall be submitted for examination to the Legal Sub-Committee, which shall report at the next session.

XI. The Committee recognises the necessity for recreation in the lives of children and young people, providing, as it does, for their good health, both mentally and physically, and resolves to keep this question on its general programme.

The Committee also appreciates the serious difficulty in providing recreation for young people which is caused by insufficient provision of spaces, both open and covered, in many places. Amongst other disadvantages, there is the danger that the children are driven to seek their recreation in the streets, public places or in places of entertainment which may not always provide for their best physical and moral development.

The Committee therefore would desire that in all future town-planning or improvement schemes provision should be made for spaces, both open and covered, as well as for swimming baths.

XII. The Committee, having received no memoranda on the subject of biological education, realises that the time has probably not yet come for the useful discussion of this subject.

Realising, however, that biological education may have a valuable effect on the character development of children towards their self-protection, the Committee requests the Secretariat to include this subject in the agenda for a subsequent session.

XIII. The Committee asks the Council to instruct the Secretariat to collect information and to report to the Committee as to the scope and composition and practice in various countries of the judicial tribunals or other special bodies which deal with cases of children and young people.

When this preliminary study is sufficiently advanced, such enquiries as may be necessary will be made on the spot, on lines to be laid down by the Committee.

XIV. The Committee, having noticed with a deep sense of gratitude the report of the International Anti-Alcoholism Bureau, and being profoundly impressed by the dangers of this evil to the physical health and intellectual and moral development of children and young people :

(1) Requests the Council to ask the Governments to protect children and young people from this danger by every possible means ;

(2) Requests the philanthropic associations to do everything in their power to bring this danger to the knowledge of the public (parents, clergy, teachers, Press, &c.) and to educate children and young people themselves to a sense of this danger ;

(3) Requests the Secretariat to remain in communication with the Lausanne Bureau with a view to supplementing the information already obtained.

The Committee agreed that the question should be placed on the agenda of a later session.

ANNEX XVIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Armenian and Russian Refugee Problems.* (Rapporteur : Dr. Breitscheid, Germany.)

The Fifth Committee of the Assembly has carefully considered the reports on Armenian and Russian refugee problems submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the International Labour Office, and has recommended unanimously the adoption by the Assembly of the resolutions printed on page 23.

The Assembly is too well acquainted with the general aspects of the Armenian and Russian refugee problems, which have occupied the attention of successive Assemblies, for it to be necessary to dilate on their origins, their gravity or their economic and social repercussion on the large numbers of countries concerned.

On looking back at the beginning of those problems and at the existing situation as disclosed in the reports submitted by the High Commissioner and by the International Labour Office, the Fifth Committee considered that the Assembly was entitled to a feeling of legitimate satisfaction at the commendable foresight it displayed in recognising their international importance in their early stages, and of having made the happy choice of a combination of the co-ordinated efforts of Dr. Nansen and of the International Labour Office for their progressive solution. It is because new and important technical means have been placed at the service of the ideal of human solidarity that several thousands of destitute and unemployed refugees owe their present comparatively tolerable situation, achieved at a relatively negligible expenditure per head. Had the refugees been left to fend for themselves the results would have been disastrous to the majority of them and very embarrassing to the countries where they were concentrated in the largest numbers. It is only necessary to compare the unhappy situation of other *Staatenlosen* who do not enjoy the protection of the High Commissioner and that of the refugees to appreciate the far-reaching value of this international action.

The statistics furnished in the report of the International Labour Office indicate the existence of no fewer than 1,000,000 Armenian and Russian refugees in 26 different countries. As definite records had not been received from certain countries where large numbers of refugees are known to exist, it would therefore be probably safe to estimate the total number of Armenian and Russian refugees at not less than 1,500,000. Of this number, 190,000 are reported to be unemployed, but this figure again does not include the statistics for the countries referred to, so that the total number of unemployed refugees may be reckoned at not less than 250,000.

That the political, economic and social difficulties inherent to problems of this magnitude have so far been either avoided or solved in their infancy without their having led to political crises must be considered a tribute to the efficacy of the co-operation established between the High Commissioner and the International Labour Office.

The methods adopted to achieve that satisfactory state of affairs merit the attention of the Assembly, in order that it may be in a position to endorse the recommendations made by the Fifth Committee to fortify them.

In accordance with the request of the Sixth Assembly, the High Commissioner in May last convened an inter-Governmental Conference for the purpose of improving the refugee passport systems and of raising a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 to assist the migration of refugees. From the comprehensive information made available as a result of that Conference, it appears that the International Passport Arrangement has been adopted by 46 and 34 Governments in respect of Russian and Armenian refugees respectively, and is therefore probably the most widely applied international technical arrangement existing. Practical experience, however, indicated that the refugees in some countries were not receiving the benefits from the passport systems contemplated at the time when the International Arrangement was framed. The Conference therefore drew up a supplementary Arrangement on 12th May 1926, which was designed—

- (a) to regularise the identity certificate systems for Armenian and Russian refugees;
- (b) to determine more accurately the number and situation of Armenian and Russian refugees in the various countries;
- (c) to create a revolving fund to provide for the cost of transport and settlement of refugees by the introduction of a yearly tax of five gold francs on self-supporting refugees.

That Arrangement was signed by the representatives of 22 countries, and has already been ratified or adopted by the British, Bulgarian, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, French, Greek, Indian, Luxemburg, Polish, Swedish and Swiss Governments, with certain reservations.

The urgent necessity of complying with the High Commissioner's appeal for the early and general ratification of that Arrangement is only too apparent from a perusal of the reports to the Assembly, but the Fifth Committee considered it necessary to emphasise certain important points falling under the above three headings:—

(a) Serious discriminations are made by certain countries against the bearers of refugee identity certificates, as compared with the holders of national passports. This constitutes a serious hardship to refugees desiring to travel for professional, health, or domestic reasons, and renders exceedingly difficult the work of placing the refugees undertaken by the International Labour Office. A special appeal should be made to the various Governments in this connection to apply the identity certificate systems as generously as possible in order to ensure the refugees the freedom of movement necessary to enable them to travel in search of employment or for health or family reasons.

(b) The International Labour Office experiences considerable difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics regarding the number of unemployed refugees according to their occupations. The general application of the identity certificate systems would contribute considerably to the removal of that difficulty.

(c) The report of the High Commissioner and that of the International Labour Office lays stress on the fact that the maximum value cannot be secured from their services until the revolving fund recommended by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly and planned by the Inter-Governmental Conference materialises. The arguments in favour of that fund appear to be incontestable; on the one hand, it is shown that eight Governments alone expended annually no less than 20,000,000 gold francs on their refugee problems, or 335 francs per head of the refugees concerned, whereas the cost to the League, in the shape of administrative liquidation expenditure, is no more than 20 francs per head, expenditure from the revolving fund being reimbursed by the refugees benefiting therefrom.

The reports demonstrate conclusively that the policy and methods pursued by the High Commissioner and by the International Labour Office have won the approval, not only of the emigration countries offering hospitality to the refugees, but also of the immigration countries desirous of taking advantage of the International Labour Office for the recruitment of selected labour. Nothing is lacking but the funds indispensable for transport and settlement expenses, and the Fifth Committee decided that, not only should a strong resolution be submitted to the Assembly on this point, but that its individual members should exert every possible effort with their respective Governments to enlist their benevolent co-operation for the creation of the Fund. This is not only necessary for the normal development of refugee overseas emigration, but also in view of the precarious situation of the large number of Armenian refugees in Syria, for whose settlement the co-operation of the High Commissioner and the International Labour Office is sought.

ANNEX XVIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Settlement of Armenian Refugees.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Breitscheid, Germany.)

The Assembly will have studied the documents which have been circulated regarding this question, namely, the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission, the report of the Financial Committee to the Council, and the resolution taken by the Council on 16th September 1926.

The situation disclosed appears to be the following: Definite plans for an irrigation and settlement scheme have been drawn up after a careful enquiry, and a reliable estimate has been made of the expenditure involved—about one and a-half million pounds sterling. No further enquiry into this aspect of the problem is necessary, and the scheme is likely to be self-supporting if the initial sum required to finance it can be obtained.

It does not appear probable that the sum required can be provided by means of an ordinary public loan. In any case the Council, on the advice of the Financial Committee, is not able to declare that it could associate itself with the issue of such a loan to the extent and in the form for which precedents exist in the case of Austria, Hungary, Greece, and Bulgaria.

At the same time, the Council has stated that, subject to certain conditions, and if requested to do so by the parties interested, it would be willing to appoint persons to supervise the due expenditure of the money in the manner proposed in the plan.

The Settlement Commission has put forward an alternative to the flotation of a public loan. It has suggested that private organisations and individuals may be willing to put up money in the form of a loan or gift for this scheme, and the Committee thinks that the Assembly would wish to do what

is in its power to facilitate all efforts which may be made to obtain it in this way, the more so as the Council has declared itself ready, if the money is forthcoming, and subject to the conditions contained in the report of the Financial Committee, to supervise its expenditure.

In order to carry out the work which is obviously necessary if such a sum is to be obtained, it may, the Committee suggests, be necessary to create a small committee composed of representatives of those organisations most likely to interest themselves in the project. A careful enquiry should be made in order to determine the organisations most suitable for this purpose.

It is not necessary to elaborate here the reasons why the League of Nations should continue to take an active part in promoting this scheme. At every session of the Assembly since the inception of the League, resolutions have been passed expressing sympathy with the object of the scheme, namely, the creation of a national home for Armenia, and these resolutions have been reinforced by the declarations made in many quarters by responsible statesmen belonging to many States Members of the League.

The Committee has the honour to propose the following draft resolution (see page 24 for text) for the Assembly. It will be observed that the fourth paragraph of this resolution involves an inscription in the Budget for next year. After a joint Sub-Committee meeting between the Fourth and Fifth Committees, this paragraph was approved on behalf of the Fifth Committee and voted later by a majority of a meeting of the Fourth Committee.

ANNEX XIX.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention.* (Rapporteur: *Viscount Cecil of Chelwood*, British Empire.)

The Sixth Committee, with the help of a Sub-Committee, and assisted by M. Gohr, Chairman of the Temporary Slavery Commission, considered anew in the light of the observations which had been made by various Governments and by members of the Committee, the draft Slavery Convention which was prepared by the last ordinary session of the Assembly.

As a result of the careful consideration given to this question during the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, it was unnecessary to go over much of the ground which had been so fully covered on the previous occasion. In order, however, that the present report may be comprehensive, much of the comment contained in the report which I had the honour to submit to the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly has been embodied in the present paper, which therefore constitutes a full commentary on the final text of the Convention.

The Convention itself is appended to this document, and I now propose to comment briefly on its different Articles.

Article 1 (Definitions).

No change has been made in this Article. The text is primarily the result of the work of legal experts, and appears to the Committee to correspond satisfactorily with the chief object they had in view.

Article 2 (Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade).

The Sixth Committee was of the opinion that the abolition of slavery could only be successfully brought about with due regard to the maintenance of order and the well-being of the peoples concerned. This accounts for the use of the word "progressively" in para. (b), for it was recognised that in certain cases in the past the attempt to do away with slavery and other similar conditions in an abrupt manner, although noble in its inspiration, had resulted in unforeseen hardships for the individuals whose condition it was sought to alleviate, and even in grave social upheavals. The Committee, nevertheless, was confident that each Government concerned would do its utmost to bring about the total disappearance of slavery at the very earliest moment.

Indeed, the Committee carefully considered certain definite proposals which were made for the purpose of alleviating the hardships which might result from the transition period, fully realising that the measures which would be most appropriate to this end would probably vary with the circumstances existing in different localities and at different times, and that they must be left to the judgment of the Government responsible. Among the measures proposed was the suggestion that in certain cases there could be an arrangement whereby freed slaves in possession of all their natural and civil rights might be obliged to continue to serve their former masters for a certain time, but only subject to the obligations and rights consequent upon a labour contract.

The German Delegation urged on the Committee that, in order to minimise the loss which enfranchisement would cause to slave-owners, compensation should be provided for them.

It also proposed that steps should be agreed on to enable the enfranchised slaves who could not be repatriated to begin the life of freedom under possible economic conditions.

The Committee, however, felt that these proposals, admirable in many cases, could with difficulty be inserted in the Convention. They would require considerable safeguards against abuse and belonged rather to the sphere of national than international action.

A slight change has been made in the drafting of sub-para. (b) of this Article, the words "notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions" being now omitted. This modification was made because it was believed that such conditions came within the definition of slavery contained in the first Article and that no further prohibition of them in express terms was necessary. This applies not only to domestic slavery but to all those conditions mentioned by the Temporary Slavery Commission and to which I referred last year, i.e. "debt slavery," the enslaving of persons disguised as the adoption of children and the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, &c. Even if, as is possible, these last practices do not come under the definition of slavery as it is given in Article 1, the Commission is unanimously of the opinion that they must be combated. In a more general way, it interprets Article 2 as tending to bring about the disappearance from written legislation or from the customs of the country of everything which admits the maintenance by a private individual of rights over another person of the same nature as the rights which an individual can have over things.

Article 3 (Slave Trade by Sea).

The British Government again supported a suggestion contained in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission that the transport of slaves by sea be treated in the Convention as piracy. The

Sixth Committee took the same attitude toward the question from a moral point of view, but many members of the Commission thought that serious difficulties arose as regards the application in law of this proposal. No attempt has therefore been made to incorporate a clause to this effect in Article 3. The French Government proposes that, instead, the provisions of the Arms Traffic Convention dealing with maritime rights should be inserted in the Convention, with the necessary adaptations to make them applicable to slaves. Other delegations felt, however, that to make so considerable a change in the Convention would not be in consonance with their instructions. The Committee therefore decided to confine itself to the Article in the Convention which refers to certain provisions of the Convention concerning the International Trade in Arms, gives greater elasticity as to the final arrangements to be made, and provides for the absolute equality of the signatory States. In particular, attention may be drawn to the third paragraph of Article 3, which provides for the conclusion of special agreements between the signatory Powers. These agreements will enable the parties concerned to make arrangements of greater stringency and stipulations better suited to local conditions than are possible in a general International Convention.

Article 4 (Mutual Assistance).

No change has been made in this Article, but the various suggestions as to its application made on behalf of the Committee last year may be recalled. It was then pointed out that mutual assistance might be given in particular by arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers, a point treated in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission. I sincerely trust that such arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers will be concluded by the States concerned, particularly those situated in Africa, Arabia or Asia, or those having possessions in these parts of the world.

Another manner in which I suggest States might assist one another to secure the abolition of slavery is by instructing their respective consular officers in places where manumission or similar methods of freeing slaves exist, to collaborate closely with a view to liberating and repatriating slaves when and wherever possible.

All States might apply the provisions of this Article in regard to such matters as extradition, which do not concern colonial areas alone.

Article 5 (Forced or Compulsory Labour).

In drafting this Article the Committee confronted perhaps the most difficult of the problems before it. After much consideration, the present drafting was finally agreed. It represents a definite attempt to deal with the question of forced labour in a general international agreement. This alone marks progress of considerable importance.

The Committee was very anxious to put into the Convention all the provisions necessary to prevent forced labour giving rise to conditions analogous to slavery. With this object in view, it has agreed that forced labour should only be resorted to for public purposes, apart from purely transitory arrangements designed to make the progressive abolition of forced labour for private purposes both just and practicable. In this connection it will be observed that stringent conditions are imposed on forced labour for private purposes even during the transitory period. Among these conditions is the requirement that adequate remuneration should be paid to those subjected to forced labour. In the case of forced labour for public purposes, this condition is not repeated. This omission has been made because there are cases where forced labour for public purposes is not remunerated in the ordinary sense of that word. For instance, in certain countries labour for public purposes is accepted instead of taxes. There are also other exceptional cases in which it could scarcely be said that compulsory labour for public purposes is, strictly speaking, remunerated. But though the requirement that adequate remuneration should be paid for forced labour for public purposes is not included in the Convention, the Committee is strongly of opinion that such remuneration should as a general rule be paid. It is also of opinion that forced labour, even for public purposes, should not as a general rule be resorted to unless voluntary labour is unobtainable. It therefore suggests that the Assembly should pass a resolution to this effect, which I shall subsequently propose and which is based on a proposal by the German Delegation.

The Belgian Delegation had submitted an amendment to the effect that forced labour might also be exacted in the interests of education and social welfare, provided that it was only imposed upon the natives in those two cases on their own lands and for their own direct profit. In the mind of the authors of the amendment, this provision had no other purpose than to give to the colonial Governments the means of protecting the natives against their want of foresight, and to assist them in rising to a more advanced state of civilisation. The Commission, while recognising the disinterested and humanitarian motives for this suggestion, was not able to accept it. It feared that in its application this proposal might lead to grave abuses of exactly the type which the Convention itself was designed to prevent or suppress.

It was also suggested that a clause be added to this Article providing for the infliction of due punishment on anyone who exacted or who sought to exact forced labour from natives illegally. The Committee entirely agreed with the intention of the authors of this proposal, but considered that such an addition to Article 5 was unnecessary, as in its opinion such punishment would be provided for as the result of stipulations in Article 6. Last year the representative of Norway called attention to the useful work which could be done by the International Labour Office in bringing about better conditions for native labour and the question was again considered this year. I shall shortly propose a resolution which resulted from this discussion.

Article 6 (Penalties).

The desirability of attaching severe penalties to the legislation against the slave trade is too evident to need comment. The draft Article as adopted last year only obliged the contracting parties to adopt or to propose for adoption by their respective legislatures the necessary measures in this respect, but the final text has been strengthened by the omission of the words "or to propose for adoption by their respective legislatures," making the adoption of the necessary measures an obligation resulting automatically from the ratification and coming into force of the Convention.

Article 7 (Exchange of Laws and Regulations).

This Article remains as in the draft Convention, but it is supplemented by a resolution which the Commission desires to propose to the Assembly for adoption. This resolution, which is given textually at the end of this report, is proposed to enable the Assembly to continue to follow future developments in the task of removing from the world the scourge of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. The Commission considers that the Governments concerned will be glad of the opportunity to inform their co-Members of the League of the measures taken to this end and of the success achieved. No attempt has been made to lay down any definite methods as regards the use of the documentation in question, as it was considered that the Council, in the light of experience and of the information received, would be in a better position to instruct the Secretary-General as to the methods appropriate to achieve the desired end without undue expense.

Article 8 (Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court).

This Article is substantially identical with Articles of the same nature which have been inserted in several international conventions negotiated during recent years under the auspices of the League of Nations, and it imposes no new obligation on the Members of the League of Nations which have signed the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 9 (Partial Accessions to the Convention).

This Article has been inserted primarily for formal reasons in most of the recent international conventions, and it was considered advisable to follow a practice which has now become usual.

Article 10 (Signature of and Adhesion to the Convention) and Article 11 (Ratification and Coming into Force of the Convention)

do not appear to call for any remarks.

Old Article 8.

The draft Convention contained an Article (No. 8) which provided that :—

All the provisions of international conventions of a general character anterior to the date of the present Convention shall be regarded as abrogated, in so far as they relate to matters dealt with in the present Convention and bind in their relations with each other the Powers which are parties to the said Convention.

In view of the fact that the legal position, with reference to these previous Conventions, did not seem to be altogether clear, and as there was no desire to reflect upon the importance or the value of these conventions, or to express an opinion upon their maintenance, the Committee decided that it would be preferable, in order that any misunderstandings might be avoided, to omit the Article in the final Convention. It is hoped that this change will remove the misapprehensions expressed to the League of Nations by the Apostolic Nuncio at Berne.

When the British Government proposed a convention on this subject at the opening of the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, it was thought that it might be possible and desirable to conclude the Convention during that session, and to open it immediately for signature. This action, however, turned out to be impracticable in such a short time, as many delegates had not sufficient opportunity to examine the question and did not possess the necessary powers. It is now a matter of peculiar gratification to me to propose that the text of the revised convention, which I believe to be an improvement over the draft of last year, should be approved by the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and immediately opened for signature by all Members of the League. As a result of a resolution adopted by the Council at its session in June last, the Secretary-General has already suggested to the Governments of States Members of the League that their delegates be given powers to sign a convention at the present Assembly. This will enable all delegations possessing the necessary powers to associate their Governments immediately with this further step in the movement for the eradication of one of the greatest evils of the world.

I have the honour to propose the following resolutions :—

The Assembly :

I. Approves the Slavery Convention* drafted by its Sixth Committee, and earnestly trusts that it will be signed and ratified as soon as possible by all the Members of the League of Nations ;

Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to bring the Convention officially to the knowledge of all States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations which may not have signed it before the end of the present Assembly, to the end that they may sign or adhere to it in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the Convention.

II. While recognising that forced labour for public purposes is sometimes necessary ;
Is of opinion that, as a general rule, it should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labour and should receive adequate remuneration.

III. Desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto, and therefore begs that the Council will prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.

IV. Taking note of the work undertaken by the International Labour Office in conformity with the mission entrusted to it and within the limits of its constitution ;

Considering that these studies naturally include the problem of forced labour.

Requests the Council to inform the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the adoption of the Slavery Convention, and to draw its attention to the importance of the work undertaken by the Office with a view to studying the best means of preventing forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

ANNEX.

Slavery Convention.

Whereas the signatories of the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1889-90 declared that they were equally animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the traffic in African slaves ;

Whereas the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye of 1919 to revise the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels of 1890 affirmed their intention of securing the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea ;

Taking into consideration the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations on June 12th, 1921 ;

Desiring to complete and extend the work accomplished under the Brussels Act and to find a means of giving practical effect throughout the world to such intentions as were expressed in regard to slave trade and slavery by the signatories of the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, and recognising that it is necessary to conclude to that end more detailed arrangements than are contained in that Convention ;

Considering, moreover, that it is necessary to prevent forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery ;

Have decided to conclude a Convention and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :

Who, having communicated their full powers, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1.

For the purpose of the present Convention, the following definitions are agreed upon :—

(1) Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.

(2) The slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery ; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him ; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, so far as they have not already taken the necessary steps :—

(a) To prevent and suppress the slave trade :

(b) To bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to adopt all appropriate measures with a view to preventing and suppressing the embarkation, disembarkation and transport of slaves in their territorial waters and upon all vessels flying their respective flags.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to negotiate as soon as possible a general Convention with regard to the slave trade which will give them rights and impose upon them duties of the same nature as those provided for in the Convention of June 17th, 1925, relative to the International Trade in Arms (Articles 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of section II of Annex II) with the necessary adaptations, it being understood that this general Convention will not place the ships (even of small tonnage) of any High Contracting Parties in a position different from that of the other High Contracting Parties.

It is also understood that, before or after the coming into force of this general Convention, the High Contracting Parties are entirely free to conclude between themselves, without, however, derogating from the principles laid down in the preceding Article, such special agreements as, by reason of their peculiar situation, might appear to be suitable in order to bring about as soon as possible the complete disappearance of the slave trade.

Article 4.

The High Contracting Parties shall give to one another every assistance with the object of securing the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

Article 5.

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences, and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that :—

(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.

(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.

(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

Article 6.

Those of the High Contracting Parties whose laws do not at present make adequate provision for the punishment of infractions of laws and regulations enacted with a view to giving effect to the purposes of the present Convention undertake to adopt the necessary measures in order that severe penalties may be imposed in respect of such infractions.

Article 7.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to each other and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations any laws and regulations which they may enact with a view to the application of the provisions of the present Convention.

Article 8.

The High Contracting Parties agree that disputes arising between them relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention shall, if they cannot be settled by direct negotiation, be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In case either or both of the States Parties to such a dispute should not be parties to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute shall be referred, at the choice of the Parties and in accordance with the constitutional procedure of each State, either to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a court of arbitration constituted in accordance with the Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, or to some other court of arbitration.

Article 9.

At the time of signature or of ratification or of accession, any High Contracting Party may declare that its acceptance of the present Convention does not bind some or all of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage in respect of all or any provisions of the Convention; it may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any one of them or in respect of any provision to which any of them is not a party.

Article 10.

In the event of a High Contracting Party wishing to denounce the present Convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who will at once communicate a certified true copy of the notification to all the other High Contracting Parties, informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying State, and one year after the notification has reached the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Denunciation may also be made separately in respect of any territory placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage.

Article 11.

The present Convention, which will bear this day's date and of which the French and English texts are both authentic, will remain open for signature by the States Members of the League of Nations until April 1st, 1927.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations will subsequently bring the present Convention to the notice of States which have not signed it, including States which are not Members of the League of Nations, and invite them to accede thereto.

A State desiring to accede to the Convention shall notify its intention in writing to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and transmit to him the instrument of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the League.

The Secretary-General shall immediately transmit to all the other High Contracting Parties a certified true copy of the notification and of the instrument of accession, informing them of the date on which he received them.

Article 12.

The present Convention will be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will inform all the High Contracting Parties of such deposit.

The Convention will come into operation for each State on the date of the deposit of its ratification or of its accession.

In faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

Done at Geneva the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six, in one copy, which will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. A certified copy shall be forwarded to each signatory State.

ANNEX XIXA.—*Memorandum on attitude of Indian Delegation in discussion of Slavery Convention.*

1. The views of the Government of India on the draft Slavery Convention adopted at the Sixth Assembly, (for the text of which see para. 62 of the Final Report of the Indian Delegation to the Sixth Assembly (1925)), were communicated to the League in a letter dated 28th May 1926. The letter expressed general agreement with the provisions as drafted, subject to certain minor amendments of Article 6 (which will be mentioned later); but, for reasons which would be explained at the Seventh Assembly, a declaration would have to be made on signature of the Convention in respect of—

- (a) certain unadministered tracts in British India,
- (b) certain other territories not in British India,

excluding them from obligations under certain Articles, notably Article 2 (in so far as it related to slavery) and Article 6.

2. Instructions were given to the Indian Delegation to the Seventh Assembly to support generally the maintenance of the original draft Convention and particularly to resist any attempt to strengthen the obligations under Article 6 (Forced Labour). At the same time we were directed to support certain amendments proposed by the British Delegation (which will be mentioned in their place), designed to improve the sense of the original draft.

3. We were also instructed to explain why it was desired to exclude the Indian States and certain unadministered tracts from the obligations of certain Articles of the Convention; and to ensure, particularly by the insertion of the term "suzerainty" after the term "protection" in Articles 2, 6 and 9, that there should be no doubt as to the Indian States being covered by the excluding declaration to be made. The amendments proposed by the Indian Delegation for this purpose were accepted by the Sixth Committee. On 23rd September Sir William Vincent made a statement, reproduced in Appendix III, on the general question, the terms of which were settled previously in correspondence with the India Office. In so far as the Indian States are concerned the declaration marked a new departure. Agreements entered into on behalf of India at the League have never before been declared not to apply to the territories under Indian Rulers. Nevertheless, Sir William Vincent's explanation of the reasons for the exclusion of the Indian States and unadministered tracts was accepted without comment.

4. The observations which follow are intended to explain points connected with the drafting of certain Articles of the Convention not specifically mentioned in the foregoing Report of the Sixth Committee presented by Lord Cecil to the Assembly on 25th September. As Lord Cecil's report explains the method adopted by the Sixth Committee for examining the draft Convention, it is not necessary further to describe the procedure in this memorandum.

Preamble.

An addition was made to the Preamble proposed by the British Delegation in order to draw attention to the provisions in Article 6 for regulating the employment of forced labour. It was accepted without discussion.

Article 2.

The definitions of slavery and the slave trade adopted in Article 1 having been accepted, the Sixth Committee had next to deal with observations made on behalf of the German and South African Governments on the text of Article 2, section (b). The alteration of this Article by omission of the words "Notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions" was made to meet objections from two different standpoints. The German Delegation had proposed that a separate section (c) should be added to the Article dealing with other conditions besides domestic slavery which they considered to resemble slavery, such as debt slavery, sham adoption, child marriage, and traffic in women. The South African delegate, on the other hand, maintained that domestic slavery is not necessarily in all cases slavery proper. Where it is slavery, as defined in Article 1, its progressive abolition is already provided for in Article 2. Conditions of domestic slavery which are not slavery should not necessarily be abolished. There were obvious objections to the inclusion in the Convention of a list of conditions of servitude said to resemble slavery. Sir William Vincent pointed out in particular that the introduction of additional terms of this character might necessitate the whole Convention having to be reconsidered by Governments before being signed. As the Government of India and the Local Governments responsible for regulation of labour conditions had agreed to accept the Article in its present form, Sir William Vincent felt it would not be possible for him to sign the Convention without further consultation with the Government of India, as he hoped to do, if the conditions proposed by the German Delegation were accepted. The omission of the words objected to by the South African Delegation seemed to the Committee the best way of dealing with the difficulty. The interpretation placed on Article 2 in the Committee's report indicates that not merely the abolition of slavery itself is intended, but the removal of any conditions which would admit of the maintenance by a private individual of rights over another person such as an individual can have over things. The application of the Convention must, however, be left to the discretion of the individual Governments of the States Signatories.

Article 3.

The British Delegation at the Sixth Assembly accepted this Article in the form adopted in the draft Convention as a temporary compromise, having in view the possibility of strengthening its terms at the Seventh Assembly. It had been proposed in the original draft of the British Delegation that the slave trade should be declared to be piracy. The proposal had been opposed by the French Delegation, who suggested instead that a maritime zone should be defined wherein special supervision over certain types of craft should be exercised, based on the provisions for maritime supervision of arms traffic at sea in the Geneva Arms Traffic Convention, 1925. This year the British Delegation came forward with two alternative proposals, namely:—

- (1) That the act of conveying slaves on the high seas should be deemed to be the equivalent of an act of piracy, and that the public ships of the Signatory States should be able to exercise the same rights in relation to vessels and persons engaged in such acts as in relation to those engaged in piracy;
- (2) (Failing the adoption of (1)), that the Signatory States should undertake to conclude a separate agreement enabling the warships of any Signatory State in an area where slave trade might be expected to exist to proceed against any vessel on the high sea flying the flag of any Signatory State and suspected of being engaged in the slave trade.

The French and Italian delegates opposed both these alternatives, their objection being that rights would thereby be conferred on the navies of foreign Powers to search indiscriminately vessels flying their own flag. The French Delegation revived last year's proposal for defining the area of

maritime supervision and the rights to be exercised therein in accordance with the provisions of the Arms Traffic Convention. Under these provisions no general right is given to search a vessel believed to carry arms. Certain vessels may be visited by the warships of the Signatory States, which are less than 500 tons, believed to carry arms, and defined as "native" vessels (that is to say, manned, fitted out, commanded or owned by the natives of countries in an area bordering on the Indian Ocean, bounded by the Arabian coast and the Persian Gulf on the north, the African coast on the west, and the west coast of India on the east). Shortly before the Indian Delegation left for Geneva, intimation had been received that the Government of India was not at present disposed to agree to the ratification of the Arms Traffic Convention precisely on account of its containing provisions classing Indian vessels as "native" vessels and applying to them special conditions of supervision not applicable to the vessels of all other countries. Sir William Vincent urged, in the Committee discussion, that the proposal of the French Delegation should be dropped, pointing out that legislation by reference is always dangerous, and that provisions applicable to the control of a certain type of cargo would not necessarily be applicable to the slave trade. The Italian Delegation supported the second alternative proposed by the British Delegation, subject to separate agreements being made between each of the Signatory States instead of one agreement. Lord Cecil agreed to the Italian proposal, which Sir William Vincent supported. The French Delegation, however, insisted on their amendment, and the whole matter was referred for discussion in a small Sub-Committee representative of the British, French, Italian and Dutch Delegations. The Sub-Committee considered various formulæ, including one which would have excluded Indian vessels, other than those from Aden, from the definition of "native" vessels. Ultimately, however, the French Delegation persuaded the Sub-Committee to accept Article 3 of the Convention in its present form. Sir William Vincent restated his objections to this Article in a speech dated 23rd September, which is reproduced in Appendix III. He said he would be obliged to make a reservation in respect of this Article on signing the Convention, but would seek instructions on the subject. The reservation which the Indian Delegation originally proposed to make was that the general convention contemplated in Article 3 should not place the ships of any Signatory State in a position different from that of the ships of other States. The Persian Delegation, however, proposed that words to this effect should be incorporated in the Article itself, and the French and other delegations concerned in the proposal agreed to their insertion. Sir William Vincent, after further consideration, decided that it would be desirable to express the reservation in a more explicit form, as the words now incorporated in the Article might not be understood as implying that Indian ships could not be classed as "native" ships. The reservation which was ultimately made on behalf of India is quoted in Sir William Vincent's speech in the Assembly of 25th September (see Appendix III). A similar reservation was made by the Persian delegate, who had also since felt a doubt whether the addition made to Article 3 on his proposal safeguarded the Persian position sufficiently. The position of the Indian Delegation in this matter was somewhat delicate. It was obviously undesirable to encourage the Persian Delegation to refuse to sign the Convention and thus to exclude all ships flying Persia's flag from maritime supervision of the slave trade. At the same time, it was essential to safeguard the rights of Indian vessels, especially against inclusion under the designation "native." It is hoped that the Indian reservation made on signature of this Convention will ensure that, when the General Convention on Slave Trade at Sea comes to be concluded, there will be no proposal to classify Indian vessels as "native" vessels. In the opinion of the Indian Delegation, the best solution would be to accord rights to search, in the neighbourhood of the Arabian Peninsula, where the slave trade is known to be carried on, all vessels suspected of slave-trading under 500 tons.

Article 5.

This Article (originally Article 6) has been transposed and placed before Article 6 (originally Article 5) in order to make it clear that Article 6 (infractions of laws and regulations) also applies to the offences at which it is aimed. The only important changes embodied are in sections (1) and (3).

Section (1).

The words "in principle," which appeared in Article 5 of the original draft, were replaced by the words "Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in para. 2 below" on the proposal of Dr. Nansen (Norway), who considered that the words "in principle" implied that exceptions not specified in the rest of the Article were admissible. Sir William Vincent pointed out that, if the amendment was a mere change of language, it was most unwise to alter the original text, which had already been accepted by most Governments. On the other hand, if they implied a change of meaning, it was now difficult to obtain the concurrence of Governments in the substitution. The Indian Delegation was naturally aware that some forced labour for private purposes exists in India, resting on ancient custom and not on legal sanction, its most typical form being labour taken by landlords in consideration of special rates of rent. Sir William Vincent therefore stated that he could not pledge the Local Governments in India responsible for the regulation of labour questions to enforce penal sanctions, if this were intended, against forced labour in cases where it still existed, though without legal sanction. Similar objections were made by the Portuguese, Netherlands and South African Delegations, but Dr. Nansen's amendment was voted by the Committee.

The attitude adopted towards the question of remuneration of forced labour for public purposes is explained in the Committee's Report on Article 5 and in *Resolution II* above adopted by the Assembly. Sir William Vincent said that remuneration in India must be understood as also covering indirect benefit, since work on canals and forests and service on the frontier would not always be remunerated in cash, such work being of direct benefit to the individuals employed. Moreover, it had to remain at the discretion of the local authorities whether voluntary labour should be substituted for forced labour in cases where local compulsory labour was cheaper and ultimately more beneficial to the residents in the locality than employment of paid contract labour from outside.

Section (3).

On the joint proposal of the British and Indian Delegations, the word "competent" was inserted before "central authorities" and the word "territory" substituted for "territories," in order to make

it clear that responsibility for recourse to compulsory labour rests in India not with the Central Government but with the Local Governments or other "competent central authorities."

Article 7.

The British Government had proposed to substitute for this Article a new text providing that the Signatory States should communicate to the League all past or future laws or regulations for the control or suppression of the slave trade, slavery, forced labour or similar objects, and that the Council should include in its annual report to the Assembly a summary of such laws. The Portuguese Delegation considered that this would be tantamount to treating the colonial territories of the Signatory States as mandated areas, and therefore refused to accept the British amendment. It was finally decided to leave the text of this Article as in the draft, but to propose the adoption by the Assembly of *Resolution III* above, which recommends that the Council should communicate to the Assembly every year "any supplementary information which Members of the League might be spontaneously disposed to furnish, as regards their action in abolishing slavery and conditions analogous thereto." The Government of India is thus bound only to communicate to other Signatory States and the Secretary-General of the League any laws and regulations enacted with a view to complying with the provisions of the present Convention, but may, in accordance with the terms of the resolution, furnish spontaneously any further information for inclusion in the annual report.

Article 8.

This Article follows the text adopted in other Conventions for reference of disputes for determination to the Permanent Court of International Justice. It was proposed by Dr. Nansen (Norway) and adopted by the Committee without any opposition. The practice of the Court has not yet developed sufficiently for it to be possible to say what sort of disputes arising out of this Convention might be referred to it. Presumably the interpretation or application of the Convention could only come into question from an international point of view where it definitely affected another Signatory State, and there would be no possibility of interference from outside in questions of domestic legislation. Nevertheless, in view of the introduction of this Article, it appeared to us particularly important that the excluding declaration in respect of the unadministered tracts and Indian States should not be open to question.

Article 9.

This Article was re-worded during the Committee discussions on the proposal of the British Delegation, for reasons which were not explicitly stated, but understood to be connected with the question of the proper description of the various portions of the British Empire. The revised text was shown to the Indian Delegation before being proposed, and some amendments were introduced at our suggestion in order to enable us to exclude the Indian States and unadministered tracts from obligations under certain Articles only. It will be seen that the excluding declaration made by Sir William Vincent in his speech in the Assembly on 25th September binds India in regard to the Convention as a whole—for example, in regard to the abolition of the slave trade (Article 2 (a)), its supervision at sea (Article 3) and assistance to other Signatory States (Article 4). Only from those Articles which imply domestic and internal legislation are certain parts of India excluded. Provision for subsequent separate accession in respect of them is made in Article 9.

5. *Resolution IV*, which the Assembly also adopted, arises out of a proposal by Dr. Nansen (Norway) during the discussions at the Sixth Assembly. He had desired that the attention of the International Labour Office should be drawn to the action taken by the League Assembly to regulate the conditions of forced labour. A copy of the minutes of the Sixth Committee of that Assembly, in which Dr. Nansen's remarks were recorded, was sent to the International Labour Office, and subsequently the Governing Body decided to set up a Committee to enquire into the question of forced labour and indentured labour throughout the world. Sir Charles Low, I.C.S. (retired), has been invited by the Governing Body to serve on this Committee as an expert on Indian labour questions. Dr. Nansen desired that the Seventh Assembly should record its approval of the undertaking of the International Labour Office to enquire into the questions of forced labour. Dr. Thomas, Director of the Labour Office, made a statement to the Committee as to the scope of the enquiry, and suggested a draft resolution to be adopted by the Assembly on the subject. In its original form the resolution called attention to the rights of the Labour Organisation to institute international regulation of any labour question. Objection was raised by various delegates, including Sir William Vincent, to the Assembly being asked to adopt a resolution attributing such wide powers to the Labour Organisation. The Assembly did not appear to be concerned with the ultimate results of the enquiry contemplated so much as with the fact that it had been instituted, which was of special interest in view of the prohibition in the Slavery Convention of conditions of forced labour resembling slavery. It will be seen that the resolution was ultimately adopted in a form to which these criticisms did not apply.

6. The text of the Convention, as adopted for signature by the Seventh Assembly, does not greatly differ from that adopted for the consideration of Governments by the Sixth Assembly. The main changes are, in Article 2, the omission of reference to "domestic slavery and similar conditions"; in Article 3, the undertaking to conclude a separate convention for the supervision of the slave trade by sea, based on the terms of the *Arms Traffic Convention*; also the omission of provisions (old Article 8) for abrogating previous International Conventions on the subject of slavery. The last-mentioned change is undoubtedly an improvement, since many provisions of the General Act of Berlin, 1855, and of the General Act of Brussels, 1890, are still of value, while objection was seen by several signatories of the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1919, to the abrogation of its provisions in view of their connection with the Peace Conference.

7. On the other hand, the resolutions adopted by the Assembly simultaneously with its approval of the Convention as revised go somewhat beyond the terms of the Convention itself, although, not being embodied in the Convention, the actual amount of authority which they carry may be open to argument.

8. The speech of Sir William Vincent on 25th September, on the occasion of the adoption of the Convention by the Assembly, is reproduced in Appendix III. Among other speakers, the Portuguese delegate pressed the advisability of defining forced labour. He considered this a suitable task for the International Labour Office in connection with its present enquiry. He had received instructions from his Government to sign the Convention. The Italian delegate would have preferred to abandon Article 5 and to provide for the suppression of forced labour in all its forms. His Government would require to consider the Convention before signing it. The French and Netherlands Delegations were also without power to sign. It is understood, however, that the delegates of some 24 States signed the Convention immediately after its adoption in the Assembly. It is not known whether reservations were made on behalf of any other countries besides India and Persia.

9. Some question arose as to whether there was an obligation upon the Indian Delegation to declare before the Assembly the exact terms of the reservations which it proposed to make on signature. It was argued by certain members of the League Secretariat that the proper procedure would be to state publicly the terms of the reservations, especially as the Indian Delegation had decided to alter the wording of its reservation in regard to Article 3 after having announced in Committee the terms proposed to be employed. On the other hand, it appears that other Conventions concluded at Geneva had been signed subject to reservations which had not been announced at the time when the Conventions were adopted. In the circumstances, Sir William Vincent, as will be seen from the opening words of his speech, though he stated before the Assembly the terms of the reservations which he would make on signature of the Convention, made it clear that he did not commit the Indian Delegation to any definite view as to whether public announcement of reservations prior to signature was requisite.

10. The conclusion of the Convention within the limits of a three weeks session of the Assembly at which so many other important questions were under discussion was an achievement of considerable difficulty, and almost up to the last moment it was doubtful whether an agreement would be reached. Nevertheless, the Indian Delegation considers that the Convention will serve a valuable purpose in furthering the progressive abolition of any system of servitude which contains the elements of slavery, and trusts that, subject to the reservations made on signature, it will be found on examination acceptable for India.

W. H. VINCENT.

ANNEX XX.—*Report of the Agenda Committee on the Draft Resolution on Alcoholism moved by the First Delegates of Finland, Poland and Sweden.*
(Rapporteur: The President of the Assembly.)

It will be remembered that the Agenda Committee had to examine two proposals coming from members of the Assembly. At the meeting of 15th September it was decided to refer to the Agenda Committee the draft resolution* moved by the first delegate of Finland, of Poland and of Sweden on the question of Alcoholism.

I will simply read the Report of the Agenda Committee:—

“The Agenda Committee met on 15th September and examined the Draft Resolution on Alcoholism moved by the first delegate of Finland, of Poland and of Sweden, which was referred to it. The Committee, having examined the draft resolution, declared that the question is of

* In its practical activities in the field of social, economic and humanitarian questions the League has more and more been compelled to deal with the question of alcoholism. Thus the report to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat contains the information that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee was unanimously of the opinion that an interdependence existed between the two evils, namely, alcoholism and prostitution (page 111), and the Child Welfare Committee, after having considered the report furnished by the International Bureau against Alcoholism, requested the Council to ask the Governments to protect children and young people from the danger of alcoholism by every possible means (page 114).

The difficulty of the mandatory Powers and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in dealing with the importation and consumption of liquor in the mandated territories is well known, as well as the lack of clearly defined terms and of uniform methods in this respect (pages 57 and 66).

Moreover, the absence of co-ordinated international action against alcoholism is felt in the most civilised countries. As an example may be mentioned the smuggling of alcoholic liquor which is much in evidence on the frontiers of all countries and especially on the seas, and which, to the disgrace of civilisation, renders vain the most praiseworthy efforts of the peoples and Governments to settle the alcohol question.

On various sides (United States, States around the Baltic Sea) recourse has been had to conventions passed between States in order to extirpate the evil, but without uniform international action there can be no hope of success.

Various organisations founded to protect society against alcoholism have for a long time been endeavouring to secure international office action against this scourge of the world.

The International Conference of Studies against Alcoholism which met at Paris on April 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1919, under the presidency of M. Vandervelde, now Foreign Minister of Belgium, requested the Peace Conference to consider whether it would be possible to ask the League of Nations to take the question of alcoholism under detailed examination.

The International Conference against Alcoholism which met at Geneva on September 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1923, voted a series of resolutions relating to the questions of the colonies, of smuggling and of the conflicts between alcohol-exporting States and States with advanced alcohol legislation, and requested the Council of the League of Nations to examine in what way the League could concern itself with the alcohol problem. Finally, the eighteenth International Congress against Alcoholism, which met at Dorpat (Esthonia) July 21st to 29th, 1926, adhered to the resolutions voted by the Geneva Conference and requested the League of Nations to interest itself in the alcohol question.

Several Congresses assembling representatives of very many countries have appealed to the League of Nations, hoping that, with all the authority at its command, it will now undertake a co-ordinating action for the future settlement of the alcohol question, so important for the future of humanity.

There are divergencies of opinion as regards the alcohol question and the best means of solving it. What has to be done now is to examine the question thoroughly and scientifically and to endeavour thus to prepare the proper measures to be taken.

When the different Governments and the different currents of opinion join together for a common task, undertaken in the spirit of the League of Nations and on the basis of impartial scientific research, one may hope that this work will bear fruit which will prove beneficial to humanity.

The undersigned therefore venture to request that the Assembly should decide to include in the programme of the work of the League of Nations the question of alcoholism and should ask the Council to take measures to this effect.

(Sd) F. Å. (Finland)
LESKI (Poland).
A (Sweden).

extreme importance, but is entirely new for the Assembly. It had to recognise that the very nature of the question thus raised could not on a first examination be sufficiently defined. For these reasons, at least due regard to the recent date at which this proposal was made, the Committee voted upon that it would be preferable to place this question on the agenda of the next Annual Assembly. It was unanimously decided, therefore, to propose to the Assembly to place this draft proposal on the agenda of the next Assembly, if this course seems convenient to the movers of the proposal. The mover stated that it does not seem possible to the members of the Assembly Committee to carry through such a question in the course of the present session of the Assembly."

He then stated that the effect of the proposal is to the effect that this question should be referred to the agenda of the next Assembly. If the movers of the proposal have no objection, he would move that the Assembly decide that this question be placed on the agenda of the next Assembly.

As there was no objection, he moved that the proposal be approved.

The proposal was approved.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Seventh Assembly.

ANNEX I. *Speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Assembly of the League of Nations, 8th September 1926.*

It is a great pleasure for me to be one of the members of the League, which are of special interest to India. I am glad to be one of the members of the Indian Delegation to this Assembly and to be able to express the sentiments of the Indian people and to receive their congratulations and expressions of sympathy.

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ratified on her behalf, apart from the special Labour Conventions concluded through the International Labour Organisation which she has also accepted.

To give effect to these conventions, a number of legislative and administrative reforms have been enacted in British India. Our recent labour legislation has included the Indian Factories Act and the Indian Mines Act, which limit weekly hours of work in accordance with the Washington Labour Convention, 1919, and secure to miners the 24 hours weekly rest-day in accordance with the Geneva Labour Convention, 1921.

Social legislation in India to implement the ratification by India of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children has included important amendments of the penal law devised to protect the community, and particularly minors, more effectively against sexual crime. Much has also been achieved for the protection and welfare of children by administrative measures and the devoted work of private organisations. Opportunity will arise to speak more in detail on these matters during the discussion in Committee.

The discussions at Geneva on opium and dangerous drugs have produced administrative changes resulting in the progressive restriction of the cultivation, internal consumption and export of opium, and also providing for the exchange with other countries of information designed to check the illicit drug traffic. I may here remind the Assembly that India has now decided to reduce its exports of opium by a fixed annual proportion during the next 10 years so that this export trade will be absolutely extinguished, save for medical and scientific purposes, in 10 years.

Turning to the health work of the League, I am glad to tell you that India is closely co-operating with neighbouring countries to promote the work of the League Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, and officers and doctors of her Medical Services are collaborating with European scientists in research into the cause of diseases which specially menace the East.

The Indian States in some cases are at present ahead of British India in social and educational advancement. In my own State, for instance, education is making rapid strides both for the boys and girls. It is compulsory in some parts and the compulsion is being gradually extended to other parts of the State. English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages are taught, and since a few years the French language has also been introduced in the lower and higher classes, but mine is the only State in India where this language is taught.

Modern hygienic methods, sanitary improvements and electric light are established in the State. The municipalities are given powers to elect their own Presidents, and a representative Assembly exists for examining and discussing the budgets, for suggesting fresh legislation, and for advising my Government on social, agricultural and other administrative points. Marriage is unlawful among juveniles and laws prohibiting children smoking are in force. Central and provincial committees have been formed for maternity and child welfare, and philanthropic societies organised by educated people are doing useful work for humanity, which I think is the best beginning of the aims and objects of the League.

At the risk of wearying you I have ventured to recapitulate these facts about India's share in the League work in order to show you that her activities in this field have not been lacking. Distant as we are from the centre of League policy at Geneva, the obligations undertaken for my country by its representatives who signed the Covenant at Versailles have been brought home to the Governments and peoples of India in all directions, particularly in matters affecting social and industrial life.

On the other hand, India is a country with its own ancient civilisation and traditions, of which it is intensely proud and which, in many respects, it regards as in no way inferior to the more material civilisation of the West. It is also a deeply religious and, in many respects, conservative country, to which many of those theories and principles which have emerged from the rapid industrial, social and political developments during the last hundred years in Europe are entirely foreign.

Nor are the circumstances of India in other respects analogous to those of modern industrial nations of the West; in many cases, social and industrial problems in India must be dealt with on different lines, though we have accepted and carried out the greater part of the reforms in domestic and industrial life recommended from Geneva. It is for this reason that I feel justified in inviting you, on behalf of the Indian Delegation, to consider whether in the future more particular attention should not be paid by the League to the conditions and problems special to Asia.

All of us desire that the influence and authority of the League throughout the world should be as universal as the authors of the Covenant intended. If this object is to be achieved, the decisions and policies adopted at Geneva must be truly international, they must take more account of the differences existing in mankind due to climate, traditions, civilisation, and history, and must be conceived in a form which can be applied with allowance for those differences and with equally beneficial results to all parts of the world.

To us in India some of the proposals made by League organisations have seemed to be too narrowly drawn on European models. In other cases, they appear to encroach on the internal authority of the various Governments in India. My predecessor, the Maharaja of Patiala, uttered a word of warning last year relating to certain schemes both in the social and economic spheres which His Highness and his colleagues considered unsuitable in their present form for adoption in India. I will not detain the Assembly by any detailed discussion of these proposals, as such an examination can more properly be made wholly in the Committee. But I ask the Assembly seriously to consider what practical demonstration can be made to the peoples of India for whom I speak, what direct evidence can be offered to make them realise that their interests are appreciated and considered at Geneva as of equal importance with the interests of the West. Unless and until India is convinced of this it will be impossible to secure for the work of the League that wholehearted interest and co-operation which is essential for the success of its great task.

May I in particular cite one direction in which the assistance and sympathy of the West would be highly valued by all Eastern people, namely, the prevention of epidemic disease? Here is a problem on which the health and happiness of the highest and the humblest equally depend, and if the League can promise the collaboration and assistance of countries more fortunately situated than the peoples of Asia in their daily contest with plague, cholera and other similar diseases, the cause of the League would, in my judgment, be greatly advanced in the East, and the value of the great work done would

be more widely felt and known, not only amongst the millions of India, but throughout Asia. Members of the Indian Delegation will refer in greater detail in Committee to the methods in which this great duty of the League may be promoted.

It only remains for me to assure you, Sir, that my colleagues and I are eager to do our share in furthering the work of the League and in making its beneficent influence as comprehensive and world-wide as possible, and it is to this end that our suggestions and criticisms will be directed.

ANNEX II.—Report of a Speech by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 14th September 1926. (Intellectual Co-operation.)

It is my privilege, as a representative of India on this Committee, to give expression to our appreciation of the idea of intellectual co-operation as a factor in the development of true international spirit. It has great possibilities and the beginning that has already been made is quite promising. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation includes names that stand high in the domain of intellect throughout the world, and it is not without a legitimate pride that I notice among them the name of my distinguished countryman Sir Jagadis Bose, the eminent scientist. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has been opened at Paris, through the generosity of the French Government, provides a much-needed meeting place for illustrious literary and scientific men and a bureau of information for research scholars of every country. My esteemed friend, Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commissioner for India in London, attended the opening ceremony of the Institute in January 1926, representing Sir Jagadis Bose, thus marking India's sympathy with the foundation of an international intellectual centre. I understand that under the auspices of this Institute a course of lectures has been delivered at Geneva which has attracted a large number of students representing different countries. I am sure that students from my country, sojourning in Europe, who have either the means of spending some time at Geneva or who may be helped by any public body to do so, will find their contact with the work of intellectual co-operation inspiring and profitable.

A practical method of intellectual co-operation, which has been suggested by the Committee appointed for the purpose, is the loan of books and manuscripts between libraries of the world. There can be no doubt as to the advantages of such a system, but it must not be forgotten that it has its risks. There are some books and documents in certain libraries of which there is not a second copy obtainable anywhere, and there is a danger of their being lost in transit or otherwise spoilt or damaged. There is, for instance, a unique manuscript of the Akbarnama in the Khuda Bukhsh Library at Patna, and we cannot afford to run any risks with regard to such a literary treasure. It seems to me, therefore, that it will not, perhaps, be wise to advocate the adoption of a general system of borrowing and lending such books; but I may add that with the assurance of due precautions against loss or damage the Government of India would always be willing to render help in this direction by supplying originals or copies, after considering the merits of each individual case.

A closer touch between the Universities of the world and the creation of international vacation courses and inter-University assistance are also objects which will command general sympathy and which India would heartily help to promote.

The education of the young as to the importance of international co-operation and as to the spirit of the League is another laudable suggestion made by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. As resolved at the Sixth Assembly, a Sub-Committee of experts was called to consider methods of co-ordinating all official and non-official efforts on the above subject, and it is noteworthy that Mr. S. N. Chaturvedi, a Licentiate of Teaching at the Allahabad University in India, who takes a keen interest in this matter, took part in the work of this Preparatory Committee. This is not all. Various pamphlets have been published in India by teachers for the use of students on the work of the League, among which one by Mr. Jitendra Sen may particularly be mentioned. I think the importance of creating suitable literature for the young on the necessity of international co-operation can hardly be exaggerated. Among the young there are, no doubt, some of the leaders of the coming generation, and if they are brought up to think internationally a brighter future for the world may confidently be expected. If the League can produce suitable literature for distribution to schools, as I think it should, I can assure you that the Government of India would be prepared to make full use of such publications. I may add that, realising as I do the usefulness of developing healthy feelings of international sympathy among the young, I shall do all I can, in my individual capacity, to encourage the production of such literature in our country. The League of Nations Union in London has produced some very readable little books for children, and I hope similar efforts will be made by the branches of the Union that are now coming into existence in India. We have a branch of the Union at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, and it has shown considerable activity during the last year. As a home of one of the most ancient civilisations of the world, India has great faith in intellectual culture and believes that the final solution of the great problems of humanity lies in the recognition by various nations of the value of the contributions made by each one of them to the progress of mankind and in a better appreciation of the merits of one another by means of intellectual co-operation.

ANNEX III.—Report of a Speech by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 17th September 1926. (International Economic Conference.)

In the illuminating remarks which fell from M. Theunis, followed as they were by the observations of other delegates, including Baron von Rheinbaben, it is recognised that the work of the International Economic Conference is one of great complexity and difficulty and has to be approached so as to differentiate clearly between the international and national aspects of the question. It is true that the security amongst nations is, to no small degree, dependent upon economical peace and the solution of the many economic problems and difficulties which stand in the way of a revival of the world's prosperity. The problems, however, are so vast and complicated

that a mere theoretical enunciation of principles will not take us to the goal to be reached. The active co-operation of Governments and the reconciliation of their various national ideals must also be achieved. What is needed is a general survey of economic conditions, leading to the selection of a few subjects, which would lend themselves most adequately to specific treatment by the nations of the world, so as to minimise economic friction. India is a not inconsiderable unit in the economic life of the world, and the recent history of Indian trade and economic development will, undoubtedly, furnish many lessons which may be of use to the world at large.

Some of the problems arising in my great country are peculiar to her. There is a marked discrepancy between the level of prices for agricultural and manufactured produce, India finding considerable difficulty in securing for her raw products prices which enable her to buy advantageously her requirements of manufactured goods. Abnormal fluctuations of prices in some of the raw products of India have also accounted for some of her difficulties, and, coupled with the general financial position, have led to a cutting down of the stocks to the minimum. It has sometimes been remarked in certain quarters that India has controlled productions, but the control, such as it was, was due mainly to the inability of the markets of the world to buy her goods.

These are difficulties which will have to be dealt with specifically with due advertence to local conditions; but generally speaking, India is at one with most of the delegations in thinking that valuable results may be obtained by an enquiry and a conference conducted with a few definite objects in view and pursued in a severely practical manner.

I should like, in conclusion, to associate myself with the observations made by the distinguished representative of Great Britain, Commander Hilton-Young, regarding the proposed character of the Conference. It seems to me that beginning with a Conference of Experts will certainly be more beneficial in the long run. It would leave every nation free to ponder over the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference before deciding to adopt them. A Conference of Experts will, I think, exercise that salutary influence over public opinion which, it is generally conceded, should precede the willing acceptance of the recommendations of the Conference by the nations of the world.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of a Speech by Khon Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 21st September 1926. (Financial Reconstruction of Austria.)*

The immediate neighbours of Austria have congratulated her on the work of the economic reconstruction accomplished by the League in that country, and after them some of her more remote neighbours in Europe have added their expressions of sympathy and goodwill. I rise just to say a few words on behalf of my land in distant Asia. Though we are not so directly affected by the situation in Austria or Hungary as some of their neighbours in Europe, yet we rejoice along with others on their improved prospects. If there is one idea which the League of Nations is emphasising, it is that in the present-day conditions of the world no nation can be unconcerned as to the fate of another, and there is a growing bond of sympathy between us all. This reminds me of a saying of one of the greatest sages of Asia, the poet Saadi, of Persia; he says:—

“ All men are limbs of one body
Because in their birth they are of one essence.
When one of the limbs is in trouble
The other limbs cannot remain unconcerned.”

ANNEX V.—*Report of a Speech by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 21st September 1926. (Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees.)*

I wish to add my tribute of thanks to the honourable the *Rapporteur* for his admirable and terse report on the refugees in Bulgaria. The work that has been done by the League of Nations for the refugees in Greece and Bulgaria is not only a great work from the humanitarian or political or economic point of view, but the phase of it that appeals most to the world outside Europe is that this work, as well as the constructive work done by the League in Hungary and Austria, has brought the League from the domain of theory into the sphere of practice. There was a great deal of opposition to the League in the beginning, and there is some there still, but this practical work has helped more than anything else to disarm that opposition. A vivid contrast is presented by two pictures that are before the world—one of the ruin caused by the last great war, and the other of the reconstruction attempted in certain spheres by the League. I can imagine these two pictures on a large canvas before my eyes, and can see the League (personified) putting a big note of interrogation under them and asking the world: “Will you in future destroy or build; will you devastate or restore, and will you injure or heal?” If the League continues to work on the same lines as it has done, and tries its beneficent work of building and restoration and healing, in whatever part of the world it may be necessary to do so, we need not despair as to the future, and we can safely predict what the answer of the world to the above questions will be.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of a Speech by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar in the Second Committee on the 11th September 1926. (Singapore Epidemiological Bureau.)*

My apology for early intervention in the discussion on the Health Organisation of the League is that it is my desire, on behalf of the delegation which, in this matter, I have the honour to represent, to place before this Committee certain considerations which, although I am sure they will always be present before the members of the League, are apt to be obscured by the pressing and, if I may say so, intrinsically legitimate claims of many competing demands. Moreover, I conceive it to be expedient, before undertaking new responsibilities and chalking out new lines of work, to strengthen

and consolidate the present organisation and link together all the parts of the world by means of the beneficent activities of the League organisation. The occasion for my intervention is the need to stress the inclusion of a provision in the Health Budget for 1927 and the succeeding years of sufficient funds to carry on the notable work connected with the Singapore Bureau. In undertaking this task it is needless for me either to refer to Article 23 (f) of the Covenant of the League, which imposes on the League the obligation of taking steps in matters of international concern for the prevention or control of diseases, nor would it be necessary to point out that it was in pursuance of this object that, amongst other things, the activities of the Singapore Bureau were initiated. Its purpose, as appears from the Annual Report of the Health Organisation, is to act as a centre for co-ordinated scientific investigation of the epidemiological problems of the Far East, to collect information in regard to them, and to act as a centre for the dissemination of health and statistical data in relation to such problems. It is undoubtedly true, and it has been recently emphasised, that the many activities of the League have to be directed with a sole view to their international aspect, but it cannot be gainsaid that the above objects, and the manner in which these objects have been pursued, fulfil the most exacting requirements of internationality.

Before I go further, I desire to pay a tribute to the many and varied forms of beneficent endeavour which have characterised the work of the Health Organisation, consisting of the Advisory Council, the Health Committee and the Health Section, all of which act in close touch with the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Hygiene; and it has been a source of immense gratification to my countrymen to notice that the Advisory Council of the Bureau has pledged itself to a recommendation that the activities of the Singapore Bureau are, and must be, an essential part of the League. Knowing as I do the many demands on the finances of the League and the limited character of those finances, I should have experienced considerable timidity in putting forward the proposition that the work of the Singapore Bureau should be financed by the League were it not that the figures demonstrate the smallness of the cost compared with its far-reaching and permanent beneficence.

In the first place, it will be remembered that on account of the memorable generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, a subvention of 125,000 gold dollars has been granted for a period of five years, the subvention not to exceed 50,000 dollars for the first year and not to exceed the above total of 125,000 dollars for the five-year period. It will be found from a scrutiny of the budget for 1927 that the amount necessary for the upkeep and maintenance of the Bureau is estimated to cost about 39,763 gold dollars. In the result, therefore, until the amount derived from the Rockefeller Foundation continues to be available, the deficit to be met is 15,000 gold dollars. It may certainly be anticipated that the stimulus and encouragement afforded by the Foundation and the good work that is bound to be turned out as a result thereof will encourage other philanthropic efforts of the same character. But my proposition is that without waiting for such generous impulses on the part of individuals or nations, the League should take upon itself the task and the duty of supplementing the available funds for the purpose indicated by me.

What are my reasons? The first of them, and one which I think ought to be conclusive, is that the range and effect of these epidemics are not confined to any one country, but are universal in character and result, and that research as to these epidemics is not therefore of local importance, but of international significance.

This proposition, self-evident in nature, has received striking support in the noteworthy speech of Viscount Cecil in the Assembly on the 9th, when he, in effect, stated that hygienic and health activities were international in character and called for international co-operation. Is it necessary to draw attention to the disastrous effects of an epidemic which may easily spread to the most distant countries? I therefore venture to contend that the collection of data relating to such epidemics and diseases and the dissemination of information as to what has been called social hygiene and the resulting concert in action of a preventive character are within the appropriate and legitimate jurisdiction of the League.

Having said this, may I also be pardoned for supplementing my remarks by a few considerations which apply not solely to the subject strictly under consideration? My contention is that the League of Nations, having started this work, should shoulder the burden of that work, and thereby arouse and stimulate the feeling throughout the world that its activities are universal and not local or temporary. Only so will the enthusiastic co-operation and sympathy of distant countries, far removed from the immediate field of the League's labours, be adequately secured and their fullest co-operation absolutely guaranteed.

It is not so much because India and other Eastern countries are not already carrying out research into kindred topics, nor is it because they cannot or will not spare the sum necessary for purposes envisaged in the above remarks that my argument is pressed. The work done by Major Russell in regard to endemic cholera, which is within the knowledge of the Members of the League, and his work in testing the value of aural vaccination in cholera, and the response in other respects made by India to the health activities of the League, are proofs that my country is alive to its obligations. It must not be forgotten also that the Ross Institute and Hospital for Tropical Diseases in London and the London School of Tropical Medicine are doing valuable and important work in connection with such activities. Is it unnatural, therefore, on the part of India to expect that the League should lend a helping hand to Asiatic countries in respect of the co-ordination of research?

What the League is really asked to do is to bring together and focus the separate endeavours of the various States Members, and of course it must be clearly borne in mind that the investigations of the Bureau would be limited, as indeed all the activities of the League's organisation should be, to those of a clearly international kind. I therefore venture to commend to this Committee that the League budget should include a provision for the activities of the Singapore Bureau in so far as they are not met by the Rockefeller Foundation grants. If, as I confidently expect, the Committee views this proposal with favour, it will be one more proof that the co-operation and the active support of the League are extended to every country, far and near, and that the only limit set by the League on the range of its work is the combination of an international aspect with essential benefit to humanity.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of a Speech by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar in the Second Committee on the 20th September 1926. (Instruction of Children and Young People in the Aims of the League.)*

I desire, at the outset, to associate my delegation with every one of the remarks contained in the eloquent and inspiring speech of Dame Lyttelton; and if I make any observations in addition to those which fell from her, it is only by way of putting forward a single suggestion in furtherance of the objects which she has so lucidly expounded. In connection with the topic of the instruction of children and youth in the aims of the League of Nations, one must pay a tribute to the labours of the Committee of Experts and to Professor Gilbert Murray. One of the modes in which the purpose in view may be most easily achieved is, in the opinion of my delegation, by making the fullest use of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements.

At the risk of taking up some of the time of this Committee and of repeating what must be familiar to most of the members and has been adverted to in the reports on the subject, may I, therefore, be allowed to emphasise the importance and significance of these movements in the matter of the education of children and young people in the aims of the League? These organisations, though started comparatively recently, have already had a most beneficial effect in every country in which they have been initiated, and they have served the double purpose of strengthening the patriotic impulse in young people of both sexes and at the same time, by an insistence on quiet and unostentatious social service, of obliterating the sense of communal and race distinctions. By evoking the feeling of general comradeship they have internationalised the juvenile mind, or, to put the same idea in another way, made the young person feel that the paramount object of his life is service to humanity as a whole and not to any class or individual. This is achieved without formal precept or any approach to military discipline or methods, and not so much by instruction as by the creation of a fresh outlook on life, which produces its results unconsciously and therefore all the more effectively. At the same time these organisations can be utilised to great advantage for the formal instruction of youth in all countries in the aims and objects of the League, which are also, in essence, their own aims.

It has been a source of great and unalloyed gratification to persons interested in these movements to see that successful efforts have already been made to bring about international gatherings of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, like the one which took place in Switzerland about a month ago and in which some Indian scouts were also present. I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge and proclaim the salutary results following on the inauguration of the scout movement in a country like India, composed of persons belonging to many races and creeds, where its unifying and humanising aspects are fast evolving a new and catholic attitude towards life and the problems of citizenship. This movement, I may add, has enjoyed the active support and continuous co-operation of the Central and Local Governments in India. The utilisation of these and other analogous bodies in order to fulfil the underlying objects of this Committee is a matter which deserves, I submit, the earnest consideration of the Committee and of the League.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of a Speech by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on the 13th September 1926. (Budget of the League.)*

It is my duty, before I move the resolution* of which I have given notice to you, Mr. President, to express the thanks of my delegation (and I am sure that our feelings will be shared by every other State Member of the League) for the very informative and lucid presentation of the budget and its details by the Secretary-General and by the Auditor, Commandatore Ceresa, to both of whom the Members of the League cannot but feel greatly obliged. To cite only one instance, is it not obvious, to anyone who has examined the history of the building fund, that the finances of the League are managed with the utmost prudence and circumspection and to the best advantage of the organisation? My delegation is satisfied that the most meticulous care is always taken in scrutinising and checking the details of expenditure, including the budget of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office and the Court of International Justice. I cannot also forget the labours of the Supervisory Commission, whose members have, in turn, considered the reports of the Auditor, Commandatore A. Ceresa and of M. Vivaldi, the Assistant Auditor, as well as the budgetary estimates which have been submitted for the financial period 1927. Even a cursory study of the Report of the Supervisory Commission will demonstrate the anxiety of that body for stringent economy, and I need draw attention only to their emphasis on certain aspects of the printing and publishing expenses of the League.

If, with a consciousness of these facts, I have ventured to trouble this Committee with my resolution, it is because I realise, and I trust I am correct in this reflection, that the duty of this Committee extends beyond details of accountancy, and that, in the absence of any definite authority specifically charged with the co-ordination of the general expenditure of the League and the assigning of relative priorities to various schemes propounded before and approved by the League, it must be the aim of this Committee to lay down certain principles for its own guidance and to recommend those principles to the consideration of the other Committees so that the labours of all the Committees and organisations charged with expenditure may be focussed and a conspectus obtained of the activities of the League organisations and the scope and limit of such activities. I desire, at the outset, to point out that the resolution which I propose moving is recommendatory in language and in spirit, and that it is not my object to impose a check on really legitimate expenses

* "That this Committee, noting the tendency of the budget of the League to increase, and considering that in the present financial state of most countries of the world every effort should be made to resist this tendency, is of opinion that as a preliminary to the discussion of the details of the budget, and as a general guide to their consideration, it is desirable to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States shall not normally in future exceed their contributions for the current year; that the maximum expenditure to be kept in view should, in effect, approximate to the total expenditure for 1926, with such adjustments as may be necessitated by additions to or withdrawals from the number of contributory States Members; and that copies of this Resolution should be communicated to other Committees concerned with measures involving expenditure."

or even thwart the proper extensions of the work of the League. The limits that I have indicated are not, therefore, laid down in any hard-and-fast manner. Obviously it cannot be the object of my delegation unduly to restrict the scope of the League's work, inasmuch as my country has throughout pleaded that, notable as has been the work turned out by the League, it should in the future, even more than in the past, enlist by well-conceived expansions of its activity the enthusiastic support and co-operation of countries separated by great distances from the normal sphere of the League's work. It is indeed our object to see that a wide range of really international activities characterises our labours. The purpose of my resolution is only to secure conservation of energies so that the various Committees of the League may so direct their enquiries that all efforts may be concentrated on a few outstanding matters whose treatment of the problems may be characterised by thoroughness and efficiency. As I have already stated, there is no authority save the League itself which can impose any priorities with regard to the various items of expenditure; but it is permissible for me to state that, if a resolution like the one with which I am charged is passed, we can ensure that commitments already incurred are thoroughly and completely discharged before responsibility is accepted for new enquiries or researches which, albeit they are intrinsically valuable, may involve fresh expenditure. It is from this point of view, and having regard to the composition and the necessary limits of the jurisdiction of the League's various authorities, that I have endeavoured to approach the problem by means of an agreed imposition of a maximum limit. I repeat again that it is not my desire either to minimise the importance or the varied and beneficent activities of the League or to suggest any arbitrary curtailment of any of them, especially of such as those on which the Assembly has already pronounced its opinion.

India naturally is deeply interested in the financial administration of the League. I am sure it is realised that my country is one of the largest contributors at the present moment to the funds of the League and comes only behind Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan at the moment. It will be remembered that the budget of the League for 1927 is 24,615,097 gold francs as against 22,930,633 gold francs for 1926. There is thus an increase of 1,700,000 gold francs or about 7 per cent. distributed between the International Labour Organisation, the Secretariat and the permanent organisations of the League, the former being increased by 32 posts and the latter by 17. There is no gainsaying that there is a tendency on the part of the budget, as there is a natural tendency on the parts of all budgets, to increase. It is true that the welcome entrance of Germany into the League will have its effect on the framing of the budget, and it is equally true that the increase is partly accounted for by the inevitable increments of salary and the increase in the Provident Fund. It is not the intention of the Indian Delegation to criticise the increase in staff, nor to put forward specific recommendations as to staff or any other topics at this stage. It is their sole function and mandate to point out that most of the States Members have had to exercise the most rigid economy in respect of their national affairs, and they confidently expect that the League will furnish a most conspicuous example to all the nations of the world of a careful administration of its finances inasmuch as such a process is bound to have a good effect on public opinion amongst all the countries concerned. Also it must be remembered that though the finances of the League may no doubt be improved by the admission of Germany, it is possible—I hope only remotely possible—that one contribution of 29 units may lapse. Thus, considering the present financial position of the component parts of the League and the likely developments of the League's own responsibilities, I trust that my proposition that a maximum limit of expenditure should be kept in view, and that the contributions of individual States should not normally exceed their contributions for the current year, will be accepted. It will be noticed that by the use of the expressions "keep in view" and "normally" I safeguard all legitimate expansions, the main thing which I am anxious to guard against being that new grants should not be approved which would have the effect of increasing the contributions of States Members when readjustments are finally made consequent upon admissions into and withdrawals from the League.

My final remark is that in order to ensure that the great spending Committees and this Committee should help and co-operate with each other in the attainment of these objects, which, I feel confident, will commend themselves to all of them, that copies of this resolution should, if passed by this Committee, be communicated to the other Committees, so that all of us may conduct our proceedings with the same definite ends in view. In that connection may I venture to quote the remark of the Secretary-General reported in the 1925 Report of the Supervisory Committee: "The Secretary-General informed the Commission that, barring unforeseen events, the League budget had now attained practical stability and subsequent variations would be relatively small." My resolution is in effect an endorsement and recommendation of this idea.

If, after taking account of the contributions of Germany and the decrease and possible withdrawals, and not forgetting possibilities in connection with the building fund, we endeavour definitely to stabilise our budget, I shall have fulfilled my object.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of a Speech by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on the 20th September 1926. (Posts for Indians in the League Secretariat and International Labour Office.)*

If I intervene during the discussion on the budget of the International Labour Organisation, it is not that I am oblivious of the fact that India is represented by Sir Atul Chatterjee on the Governing Council of the Organisation by which the preparation of the Labour Budget is supervised. I also realise that it is not the function of this Committee, or even of the Assembly, to fetter the discretion of the League authorities in making specific appointments, which, of course, will be filled with almost exclusive advertence to the question of efficiency. It is also true that it is not easy to get persons, especially for the smaller posts, from distant countries, and the question of passages cannot be overlooked. As, however, on the last occasion when the budget was discussed very powerful arguments were advanced by the delegates of various countries as to the need for the representation of all the nations of the world in the offices of the League, I desire to take this opportunity to emphasise and bring to the notice of the League authorities the claims of Indians for employment. I do so, not on the narrow ground of India's comparatively large contribution and its regularity in making that contribution, but, as has been referred to by more than one speaker,

it is useful to make every Member of the League feel that all the nations of the world have a fair-chance in the matter, other things being equal. It is my intention, finally, to point out that this is one of the means by which citizens of my country will receive training in international work if some of its men who have the necessary qualifications are given the opportunity to work in Geneva. Their presence here will also serve to link together even more closely my distant country with this world-organisation.

I conclude, as I began, by repeating that my aim is not to criticise what has been done, but to make suggestions to the appointing authorities in the League, relying fully, as indeed was evident from the Secretary-General's speech the other day, that they are animated by the same ideas to which I have endeavoured to give expression.

ANNEX X.—Report of a Speech by Sir Basanta Mullick in the Fifth Committee on the 9th September 1926. (Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.)

As India is a State in which opium is grown, I venture to give some account of the steps which we have taken to give effect to the Hague Convention and the Geneva Convention of 1925. It is necessary to remember that the area of India is about 1,800,000 square miles, and that its population is nearly 319,000,000. Communications are not so perfect as in most countries in Europe, and the habit of eating opium has been established for some centuries. Bearing these conditions in mind, and also the fact that legislation is apt to defeat itself if unduly in advance of public opinion, I think we may justly claim that India has done her duty in the matter of opium.

I will address myself first to the question of the acreage under cultivation. In 1905 the acreage under cultivation was 614,000 acres. By 1923 the acreage had been reduced to 142,000 acres, and in view of the diminution in the demand for opium the Government of India is now arranging for the further restriction of cultivation.

In the matter of control over the export of opium I have to state that between 1908 and 1913 the Government of India placed a limit on the total export to all destinations. The Convention of 1912 prescribed among other provisions for the control of the export of raw opium that it was not to be exported to States which prohibited its import, and that when a State controls its import export to that State shall be controlled accordingly. These provisions have always been strictly observed by the Government of India, and since 1915 the Government of India have gradually substituted for the sale by auction a system of direct sale to the States where there is a demand for Indian opium. The system of direct sales has now been completed with the conclusion of an agreement with the Government of French Indo-China, and the auctions of opium for export which used to be held at Calcutta have been discontinued from April 1926. The whole of the opium now exported for other than medical or scientific purposes is now sold under the system of direct sale to foreign Governments. In this connection it will be remembered that in 1923 the Government of India, acting according to the recommendations of the League of Nations, adopted the import certificate system, by which licences for the export of opium were only obtainable if a certificate of approval had been obtained from the Government of the importing country. Thus, not only the opium that was sold by direct arrangement with foreign purchasing Governments, but also the residue that, up to April last, was sold by auction in Calcutta, was exported under a guarantee from the importing Government. Our foreign purchasers were for the most part the Governments of Malay, Hong Kong, Ceylon, the State of North Borneo, Sarawak, the Netherlands East Indies, Siam and French Indo-China, and in order to give effect to the Protocol drawn up in Geneva in 1925 by the Conference on Opium and Drugs, the Government of India announced on the 1st September 1925 that they were prepared to accept some measure of responsibility even for illicit export covered by import certificates, and to prohibit or restrict export, even where foreign Governments were prepared to furnish a certificate, if there was evidence that the opium was finding its way into the illicit trade. The Government of India had already before this prohibited export to two countries, but in order to guard against any invidious distinctions and against the necessity of differentiating and selecting countries on whom restrictions should be placed, the Government of India have now decided to adopt a progressive all-round reduction and ultimate extinction of exports to all destinations, except for medical and scientific purposes, and they have fixed the short term of 10 years as the period within which the suppression and extinction of exports shall be completed. The total exports of 1926 will accordingly be reduced by 10 per cent. each subsequent year, so that the last export will take place in 1935.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Government of India are fulfilling their international obligations in the widest possible manner and are acting fully in accordance with the general trend of international opinion and with the views that have been expressed both in India and in Europe in the matter of securing the improvement of the world situation in regard to the trade in opium and its derivative drugs.

I beg the Committee's leave next to refer shortly to the control of internal distribution. The legislation on the subject is elaborate, and the manufacture, possession, transport, import and export and sale of opium, except as permitted by rules framed under the Opium Act, are punishable with various penalties extending to rigorous imprisonment. The policy of the Government of India is to limit consumption firstly by controlling the cultivation of the plant, and secondly, by steadily raising the retail price up to the point when the risk of smuggling becomes unduly great. With this object their steady policy is to reduce the local limits of private possession, and to diminish the number of shops where opium is sold under licence. Since 1910 the issue prices have been enhanced to two or three times what they were before, and the number of shops has been reduced by about one-third, and the rate of consumption seems to be gradually approximating to the level indicated by Western science as the standard for modern countries. Success has only been possible because public opinion is strongly opposed to the abuse of opium. But in many parts of the country opium is eaten as a sedative and for quasi-medical purposes, and an attempt to introduce complete prohibition would be certain to fail on account of the conditions which at present prevail. We cannot drive the unsatisfied consumer into the hands of the smuggler or the manufacturer of morphine, cocaine, and other drugs, far more dangerous than opium. I may, however, state, for the information of the Committee, that the Government of India have recently been in consultation

with Provincial Governments with regard firstly to the advisability of a policy of co-ordinating administrations with regard to the retail prices of opium, and secondly, the desirability of further checking consumption in local areas. It has been suggested here to-day that the Government of India should prohibit altogether the sale of opium except for medical or scientific purposes, but under present conditions that goal is unattainable. In some parts ceremonial usages on social and religious occasions demand the use of opium. The registration of medical practitioners, where there are any, is very imperfect, and above all there is, in fact, among the bulk of the population no abuse of the drug. Indeed, the ravages resulting from the excessive use of alcohol, not to say drugs such as cocaine and morphine, are incomparably more serious than those due to opium.

But notwithstanding these local conditions it is a matter for congratulation that there has in fact been a marked decline in recent years in the consumption per head. The amount now consumed in British India per head is about 18 grains, whereas in 1895 it was 27 grains. Eighteen grains per head represents about 1 gramme, and the Medical Committee of the Geneva Conference thought it desirable that for medical and scientific purposes countries possessing a highly organised system of medical assistance should allow 15 grammes of opium at 10 per cent. morphine content. As Indian opium contains a lower morphine content than that produced in other countries, and as a considerable quantity is used for the treatment of cattle and horses, of which it is estimated that there are two per unit of the population, it is evident that there is not a very great margin between the consumption per head in India and that estimated by the Medical Committee as reasonable for medical and scientific requirements, and that there is no reason to suspect that there is any grave and widespread abuse of the drug.

With regard to the use of prepared opium, that is to say opium used for smoking, it may be stated that the people of India do not indulge in this practice, which they regard as a vice. The habit is not native to the country, and is rarely found save among the disreputable, and it is always severely repressed. Some opium-smoking does exist in Burma and Assam, and the local Governments of those Provinces have framed laws and regulations which effectively deal with the evil. In Burma the local Government has not since April 1921 allowed prepared opium to be sold in the Government shops. It has enforced a system of registration and rationing of all consumers, whether eaters or smokers, and since 1914 no person who is not so registered is allowed to possess prepared opium. Each smoker is attached to one shop only and is strictly rationed.

In Assam smoking dens have been suppressed by legislation making the assembly of three or more persons for the purpose of smoking opium a penal offence. Legislation on these lines has also been adopted by the Legislative Councils of the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces.

I venture, then, to hope that the Committee will agree that the Government of India have fulfilled to their utmost the obligations undertaken both at the Hague Convention of 1912 and the Geneva Convention, 1925, and that they have fully discharged their duty in the matter of the export of the drug and its consumption within the territories under its control.

I wish, however, that I could say that the future with regard to the consumption of deleterious drugs was as bright.

India does not manufacture any dangerous drugs from opium except for medical and scientific purposes. This manufacture is strictly controlled in a Government factory, and the output is used either for home consumption or for export to the United Kingdom. The reports, however, show that there has been a dangerous increase of the import both of cocaine and morphine into India, but it will suffice to deal only with the subject of cocaine. The use of this drug is controlled by the various provincial Excise Acts, and its illicit possession is punishable with imprisonment for various terms. Notwithstanding these protective statutes 1,556 ozs. of cocaine were seized by the Customs authorities at Indian ports in 1923, 1,725 in 1924, and 3,680 in 1925, and it is estimated that the quantity actually imported must be many times as great. At page 19, Annexure 12, of the Report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, prepared at Geneva on 29th July 1925, there is a short account of cases brought to the notice of the local Governments of the Punjab, the Bombay Presidency and Bengal, and I have in my hand a statement which shows that for the whole of India in 1922-3 the total number of cases prosecuted was 961, and that the quantity of cocaine in question was certainly not less than 1,976 ozs. In 1923-4 there were 1,015 cases and the quantity was 185 ozs., and in 1924-5 there were 1,083 cases and the quantity was 832 ozs. We apprehend that the whole of this cocaine was imported from foreign countries, and that in spite of the most vigilant precautions on the part of the Customs and the Police authorities there will be no real improvement unless there is ratification of the undertakings required by the Drugs Convention of 1925. I echo therefore the plea which has been made in the report now under consideration before us for more rapid progress in bringing into operation the Convention of 1925.

Immediate action can be taken under Resolution 10 of the Advisory Committee's Report for the purpose of establishing closer collaboration in investigating cases. Proposals were laid before the Advisory Committee for (1) periodical conferences of Police authorities, (2) conferences between the manufacturers of drugs and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the question of regulation and distribution, and (3) the exchange of information as to the identity and methods of shipowners and others who are known to have connived at illicit traffic. If it is possible to give effect to any of these proposals the Government of India will certainly support them wholeheartedly. And I need hardly say that I have heard with the greatest satisfaction the announcement made to-day by Lord Cecil of the action taken by certain firms in the matter of the insurance of cargoes of deleterious drugs. For the present we have done and are doing all that is possible under the circumstances. Whenever cases of smuggling cocaine and other dangerous drugs are discovered, and there is evidence available pointing to the country of manufacture or shipment, we communicate with the Governments concerned and place at their disposal all the evidence that is in our hands. One Government has after investigation communicated the results to us, and from another we have received an assurance that the cases are under investigation and that the results will be communicated at an early date.

If Lord Cecil's hope that something may be done by international agreement to limit and control the export and the consumption of the drugs to which I have referred is realised India will indeed have cause to rejoice.

ANNEX XI.—*Statement read by Sir Basanta Mullick in the Fifth Committee on the 22nd September 1926. (Russian and Armenian Refugee Identity Certificates.)*

As regards Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the Arrangement, the Government of India are prepared to impose a surcharge of five gold francs in respect of each issue or renewal of an identity certificate of a Russian or Armenian refugee; but they are unable without new legislation to make it obligatory on each refugee, whether he wishes to travel or not, to take out a fresh certificate of identity or to pay the surcharge every year. The Government of India propose, therefore, that the identity certificate should continue to have the same period of validity as an ordinary Indian passport and to issue it on application only. With regard to Article 12, the Government of India propose to make arrangements for the remittance of the amount realised by the surcharge from time to time; they do not, however, consider it necessary to use the proposed League of Nations stamp for the purpose as the number of Russian and Armenian refugees in India is small. As regards Articles 8 and 13, the Government of India would not be prepared to provide assistance in regard to the cost of transport and settlement of refugees.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Fifth Committee on the 17th September 1926. (Child Welfare.)*

After hearing the speech of the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, so admirable both in form and substance, I do not propose to detain the Committee long.

I should be the last man to wish to discourage work of the kind which is described in the Report of the Child Welfare Committee, but I feel obliged to point out that in the matter of child welfare, with which, in my country at least, is connected the welfare of women, we are dealing with a question in which the widest possible differences exist between different communities and nations—differences which are to a large extent natural and not conventional and which often have their roots in religion. In such a field the League of Nations should, I submit, proceed with great delicacy and circumspection.

It would diminish the beneficent influence of the League if countries which possess types of civilisation differing from the European model, but none the less having merits and traditions of their own, were to misunderstand the League's intentions and, however mistakenly, to regard the League as an organisation working for the approximation of all civilisations to that of Europe. In the second place, if the League were to attempt to draw up standards and codes applicable to and acceptable by all the countries of the world, I cannot believe, having regard to the large variety of circumstances and conditions, that such a standard would have great practical value. It would surely be necessary to omit many provisions that could and should be adopted in some countries and to include many that would not be applicable or suitable to others.

In India we are facing these problems, but we have to face them in our own way. I shall not weary you with a catalogue of recent developments in this field, but I feel obliged to put forward a few facts, the full significance of which will be readily appreciated at least by those of you who are acquainted with the East.

With reference to certain recent measures in India—measures which, though not within the actual scope of this Committee, are closely allied to our present subject—the Director of the International Labour Office reported that a vast social revolution had been realised which would have a far-reaching effect in the production of the world-wide equilibrium of social conditions. As in the industrial, so in the social sphere, great work is being done, partly official and partly private, and financial support has been provided by members of my own order and by the great landlords and merchants of India. The lead has naturally been taken by women, both by European women and ever increasingly by Indian women themselves in spite of their life-long tradition of seclusion. Owing to the system of “purdah,” or seclusion of women, the problem of extending modern medical benefits to women and children is one of special difficulty. A special problem exists and special measures have had to be applied to its solution. In addition to the munificent aid from the Provincial Governments and the facilities for training Indian lady doctors and nurses, not only in the European but also in the Oriental system of medicine, private societies have also been formed for supplying female medical aid to the women of India.

In several Provinces Acts have been passed establishing children's courts, abolishing the imprisonment of children under 14, providing for their removal from pernicious surroundings and for the approved custody of those who show a tendency to lapse into crime. Juvenile jails are in existence, and juvenile offenders may be released on bail under the custody of their parents. Bills have been passed in the Indian Legislature by non-official Members on such subjects as those of raising the age of marriage, the age of consent, lifting the ban upon widow-marriage, and for maternity benefit schemes.

My desire is to show you that beneficent movements are in progress in this particular Department of the social problem—movements that could hardly have been anticipated a generation ago. It is the promise rather than the fulfilment that I commend to your notice. Promising as they are, these movements would be liable to damage were any undue pressure applied to them. They should grow in the soil to which they belong and under the natural stimulus of the public opinion of the country.

I am anxious lest international action in these matters may be taken too precipitately, for I have personal experience of the vast difference of conditions of life in the Indian Continent itself not to speak of their difference from those of Europe. Had not the motion which Lord Cecil recently proposed in the Assembly afforded prospects of a more definite demarcation of the scope of national and international action, I might have felt obliged to press this view more strongly, but in the actual circumstances of the moment I feel myself able to support the resolution which the British delegate has moved, and I have much pleasure in doing so.

ANNEX XIII.—Report of a Speech by Sir William Vincent in the Sixth Committee on the 23rd September 1926. (Slavery Convention, Article 3.)

I much regret that I am compelled at this point to make it clear that, pending further instructions from my Government, I must make a small reservation in respect of this Article as worded, and I reasons for this course. The Arms Act Convention makes a clear distinction between native vessels and other vessels and defines the term native vessel as follows :—

A vessel shall be deemed to be a native vessel if she is either owned, fitted out or commanded by a native of any country bordering on the Indian Ocean west of the meridian of 95° East of Greenwich and north of the parallel of 11° South Latitude, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the Gulf of Oman, or if at least one-half of the crew are natives of such countries.

Now the area referred to in this definition includes the coast of India. Therefore all vessels owned by Indians or manned by Indian crews of whatever class or tonnage come within the definition of the term native vessels; but this is not all, for under the Convention native vessels under 500 tons are subject to a right of search, to which other vessels are not subject. The reason for this distinction in the Arms Traffic Convention was, as I understand, that the States that were parties to that treaty decided not to give permits or licences to native vessels under 500 tons in any circumstances to carry arms, whereas other vessels were, subject to certain restrictions, allowed to take on this traffic. I may say that up to now this Arms Traffic Convention has not been ratified by India, but there are additional reasons why the terms of that Convention should not be accepted in relation to slavery. In the first place, the slave trade stands on an entirely different footing from the arms traffic, and whereas in certain circumstances the latter is legitimate, in no case, whether the slaves are carried on a native or any other vessel, is the slave trade anything but criminal, and there is no reason to give any class of vessel any special privilege or exemption. In the second place, it would not be consonant with the dignity of India to accept a Convention which clearly places them in a position of inferiority and which suggests that Indian ships are not entitled to be treated in exactly the same manner and with the same consideration as the ships of other Powers. There is no slave trade off the coast of India and Indian ships are not employed for this traffic. The country is a civilised country with an efficient civilised administration, and cannot with justice be treated with less consideration than any other Power that is a Member of the League. I cannot accept for one moment the suggestion that Indian ships should be treated differently from, say, British, French or Italian ships, or that they are, either by reason of any kind of connection with the slave trade or by reason of any difference in the system of government or control over navigation, not entitled to exactly the same consideration as the ships of other countries. It is true that the Article stipulates that necessary adaptations may be made in the Convention, but this refers, I apprehend, only to adaptations necessary to convert an agreement made for one purpose into one now intended for another. Anxious as I am to do all that is possible to facilitate effective action against the slave trade, I regret, in the absence of instructions, to have to make a reservation in respect of this Article.

The reservation I propose to make is in the following terms :—

I wish to declare that my signature is not binding in respect of Article 3, in so far as that Article may require India to enter into an agreement which would place her vessels in a position different from that of other State Signatories of the Convention.

It will be seen that this will not prevent India from being a party to the Convention, and it is owing to the sincere desire of India not only not to be obstructive but to render every assistance in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade that I have not pressed my objection to the whole Article, but, making my reservation to a minimum, made one stipulation necessary in my judgment in the interests of the self-respect and dignity of the great country which I have the honour of representing. I have decided, I may add, that it is not necessary for me to press two other reservations which I made in Sub-Committee.

ANNEX XIV.—Declaration by Sir William Vincent in the Sixth Committee on the 23rd September 1926. (Exclusion of Indian States and certain unadministered tracts of British India from certain Articles of the Slavery Convention.)

The Indian Delegation proposes to sign this Convention subject to an excluding declaration in the following terms :—

"Under the terms of Article 3 of this Convention, I declare that my signature is not binding as regards the enforcement of the provisions of Article 2, subsection (b), Articles 5, 6, and 7 of this Convention upon the following territories, namely: In Burma, the Naga tracts lying west and south of the Hukawng Valley, bounded on the north and west by the Assam boundary, on the east by the Naphuk River and on the south by the Singaling Hkamti and the Somra tracts; in Assam, the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, the tribal area to the east of the Naga Hills district, up to the Burma boundary, and a small tract in the south of the Lushai Hills district; also on the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty."

A. The exclusion of the unadministered tracts is necessary on the following grounds :—

- (1) The position in certain unadministered or partially administered frontier tracts in northern Burma and Assam was explained to the League in a memorandum communicated to the Fourth Assembly (Document A 18, 1923, VI), and referred to in para. 90 of the Report of the Temporary Slavery Commission (A 19, 1925, VI), communicated to the Sixth Assembly. The population of these tracts cannot be stated as they have not been fully explored, but on a rough estimate the population of those in Assam is not more than 100,000.

- (2) Generally speaking, the Government of India cannot undertake obligations to embark on the conquest of unexplored or partly explored regions inhabited by primitive aborigines, amongst whom slavery, or practices akin to slavery, are believed to exist, but are prepared to accept the obligation to exercise all peaceful influence to suppress them as opportunity occurs.
- (3) A proof of the desire of the Government of India to suppress remaining traces of slavery was given by the action of the Government of Burma in the Hukawng Valley, of which an account was given to the Sixth Assembly in a memorandum (Document A 50, 1925, VI). Further action has since been taken in this direction by the Government of Burma. Steps are also being taken to bring about the disappearance of practices savouring of slavery in the Lushai Hills of Assam, in which they still exist.
- (4) The Government of India cannot, however, accept the definite obligations imposed by Articles 2 (b), 5, 6 and 7 in respect of these unadministered areas. The Indian Delegation, therefore, has instructions on signing the Convention to specify in an excluding declaration under Article 9 of the Convention the geographical areas to which the obligations of these Articles will not apply.
- (5) The declaration of exclusion is so worded as to admit of separate accession on account of these territories when the circumstances are such as to enable the Government of India to fulfil the obligations of the Convention in respect to them.

B. That part of the declaration which excludes the Indian States is necessary on the following grounds:—

- (1) The internal administration of these States is in the hands of their own rulers, but the exact relations in which each State stands to the Government of the King-Emperor are dependent on individual circumstances and cannot be briefly explained. The Indian Legislature cannot legislate for these States.
- (2) Recent enquiries have satisfied the Government of India that slavery in the ordinary sense is not now practised in any Indian State, and that, where conditions are present which may be held to amount to forced labour of the kind against which the draft Convention is directed, no serious abuses exist and progress is in fact being made in removing or mitigating such conditions.
- (2) The draft Convention, however, imposes obligations upon the Signatory States which would involve, in the case of India, direct interference with the domestic administration of the Indian States. The Government of India would be prepared to urge the Rulers of those States to initiate measures of reform if they had reason to believe that gross abuses existed in any of them. But they do not consider that the conditions revealed by their recent enquiries would justify interference to secure full enforcement of the provisions of the Slavery Convention as regards forced labour.
- (4) On the other hand, it is to be clearly understood that in many States the standard aimed at by the Convention has already been attained, and that in all other States steady progress is being effected both by public opinion and by the spontaneous action of the Rulers.
- (5) The Government of India will not fail to bring to the notice of the Rulers of Indian States the provisions accepted for India (other than the Indian States) under the Convention, together with suitable recommendations.

ANNEX XV.—*Report of a Speech by Sir William Vincent in the Assembly on the 25th September 1926. (Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention.)*

I am advised that it is incumbent on me to read out here certain reservations which India will make on signing this Convention. I am not satisfied that this is strictly necessary or that this practice has always been followed in the past. But *ex majori cautela*, I am prepared on the present occasion to adopt this course.

"Under the terms of Article 9 of this Convention, I declare that my signature is not binding as regards the enforcement of Article 2, subsection (b), Articles 5, 6 and 7 of this Convention upon the following territories, namely: In Burma, the Naga tracts lying west and south of the Hukawng Valley, bounded on the north and west by the Assam boundary, on the east by the Naphuk River and on the south by the Singaling Hkamti and the Somra tracts; in Assam, the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, the tribal area to the east of the Naga Hills district, up to the Burma boundary, and a small tract in the south of the Lushai Hills district; nor on the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

"I also declare that my signature to the Convention is not binding in respect of Article 3 in so far as that Article may require India to enter into any Convention whereby vessels, by reason of the fact that they are owned, fitted out or commanded by Indians, or of the fact that one-half of the crew is Indian, are classified as native vessels or are denied any privilege, right or immunity enjoyed by similar vessels of other States Signatories of the Covenant or are made subject to any liability or disability to which similar ships of such other States are not subject."

But, Sir, it is not only these reservations, but the great importance of the resolution under discussion which justifies my taking a few moments of your time to-day to explain the attitude of India on this question of slavery. I regard this Convention as a tangible and effective achievement of great moment, and as a practical illustration to the world in one direction at least of the great work done for humanity by the League. I have no desire to enter into the history of previous efforts to eradicate the slave trade and slavery, but the truth is that in various forms and disguises it still does subsist in certain parts of the world, and the present Convention, if it is accepted, as we hope it will be, by the Powers here present, constitutes a definite advance not only in increasing the effectiveness of measures against the slave trade proper and eradicating slavery generally, but in preventing and putting a stop to those more insidious forms of servitude which approximate to slavery though called by other names. The principles laid down, particularly in regard to forced

labour, taken with the action of the International Labour Bureau, cannot fail to have far-reaching effects throughout the world, and so far as I know this is the first occasion on which a definite undertaking, or at any rate so complete an undertaking, in regard to forced labour has been accepted. I refer particularly to forced labour for private purposes. May I say that India heartily welcomes the conclusion of this Convention, and is glad to undertake the duty of making every effort to root out conditions of servitude which approximate to slavery.

It is true that we have to make certain reservations on signing the Convention, but one of these, which relates only to the search of ships suspected of carrying slaves, need in no way impede the execution of an effective agreement on this subject. I can assure the Assembly that in fact no Indian ships are engaged in the slave trade, and that the law of India prohibits slavery and this slave trade under penal clauses of great severity. Another reservation we have been compelled to make is in relation to Indian States and a small area of unadministered territory. The reason for this reservation in regard to the Indian States is not that slavery is prevalent there, for this is not the case at all, but it arises from the constitutional position which those States occupy, a position which I have fully explained in the Sixth Committee. The Convention will, however, be brought to the notice of all States, and provision exists in the Convention for extending its obligations to these areas should this be necessary or desirable in future. In the meantime, in the unadministered areas of which I spoke, tracts situated on the extreme north-eastern frontier of British India, the population of which is estimated at a few hundred thousand persons only, steady systematic efforts are being made by the local Governments to eradicate traces of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. In one of these areas already over 3,000 slaves have been released (last year) on payment of substantial compensation to their owners; in another area a special expedition has been sent this year charged with the mission of securing by persuasion and payment of compensation the release of all slaves in that territory.

But the efforts of the Government of India have by no means been confined to measures of this kind. In other provinces steady progress has for many years been made in the direction of measures to prevent any condition of forced labour approaching to slavery, or even likely to lead to oppression. Forced labour for private purposes has no legal recognition in India. In the province in which the greater part of my career in India was spent, where forced labour was in some parts exacted as a predial obligation, and also in lieu of debt, the predial obligation has been commuted into cash payments and an enactment passed which prohibits any kind of servitude for debt or the enforcement of contracts of that nature. Similar efforts have been made in other parts of India, and indeed the enforcement by penal sanctions of any form of indentured labour or of contracts to labour has been abolished. Generally it may be said that the Government of India has made, and will continue to make, every effort to get rid of the evils against which this Convention is directed.

Lastly, may I say that such has been the moral influence of the work of the League and of the high ideals for which it stands, that I saw in the *Times* the other day a statement, and I have no reason whatever to doubt it, that the State of Nepal, an independent State not in India but on the northern frontier, has recently completed the liberation of 50,000 slaves at a cost of £375,000 paid by the State. That is a result on which the State of Nepal may, I think, be congratulated, and is clear evidence of the influence of the League in the East.

My object in placing these details before you is to indicate by direct evidence that India, if apt to scrutinise with jealousy any agreement which is proposed, has gone a great way towards the goal which the Convention seeks to obtain. If we examine the terms of these agreements in detail, it is because we are careful to enter into no solemn undertaking which we are not prepared fully to implement, and because we have also to consider the effect of such an agreement on a vast population, one-fifth of the population of the world, living in very varying conditions and permeated by varying traditions and customs. But, as I have said, India is behind no State in its desire to eradicate slavery, and if the present Convention does not meet the approbation of all, it achieves a great deal. Further, should necessity arise in the future it can, and no doubt will, be supplemented by further agreements until slavery and conditions akin to it, truly described in the Committee as a crime against the human race, are utterly and wholly rooted out.

APPENDIX IV.

Certain other Speeches delivered at the Seventh Assembly.

ANNEX I.—*Report of a Speech by the Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire) in the Assembly on the 9th September 1926.*

I think anyone who looks at the report on the work of the Council will be struck by one characteristic more than by any other, namely, by its immense extent. It deals with subjects of the most varied character, from a serious international dispute between Greece and Bulgaria to proposals for the reform of the calendar and the fixing of the Feast of Easter. It deals with the traffic in opium, with commercial arbitration, with the provision of swimming baths for children, with the codification of international law and with the reduction and limitation of armaments, apart from the very serious matter of the reconstruction of the composition of the Council.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it would be quite impossible to attempt, even if it were useful, any review of activities so widely extended as these, and in the observations which I am about to address to the Assembly, and which, I trust, will be brief, I propose to confine myself to certain very practical and serious points without attempting to make, even if I were capable of doing so, an emotional and eloquent oration.

In the first place, may I say one word on the very important topic of the codification of international law. As you know, the Assembly appointed a Committee—I think it was two years ago—to deal with that subject, and on the very first page of the report on the work of the Council an account is given of the activities of the Committee. I cannot help feeling that, though we are very grateful for that account as far as it goes, we should like to know rather more about the actual

procedure of the Committee, the lines upon which it has proceeded, and whether its activities show any prospect of success or achievement in the near future. I do not intend to submit a motion on the matter, but I venture very respectfully to suggest that the First Committee of the Assembly should consider whether it ought not to make some enquiry into the activities of that Committee, since, in many parts of the world, the codification of international law is regarded as one of the most important possibilities of the League.

The next observation I desire to make arises not only from the report itself but from the exceedingly interesting opening address made by M. Benès in his capacity as Acting President of the Assembly. You will remember that he then called attention to the importance of the ratification by the Governments of Conventions concluded or suggested by Conferences called under the auspices of the League or by the League itself.

May I quote three sentences from his speech? He said:—

“In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of all the delegations to the fact that it is their duty, once they have returned to their own countries, to see that effect is given to the decisions taken at Geneva.”

Then a little later on he adds:—

“I think I am bound to say that, from the point of view of the Conventions drafted by the technical committees, by the Economic, Transit, Health and Opium Committees and by our Disarmament Committees, the situation is not very satisfactory. Indeed, the further progress of our technical work would be a matter of some difficulty if this situation did not improve.”

This is a matter which was brought to the attention of the British Government by certain important commercial interests. They pointed out that it was discouraging to those all over the world who were interested in commerce and industry if admirable Conventions were drawn up by or under the auspices of the League, and then months and even years elapsed before those Conventions were brought into effect. The result was, as they pointed out, a gradual diminution in the belief in the efficiency of the League, and also the creation in the commercial and industrial world of that uncertainty which is, perhaps, the chief enemy of industrial and commercial prosperity. It was from that document that I obtained figures stating that, as regards eight Conventions dealing with these commercial subjects, there had been 55 signatures and only 23 ratifications; the result was, of course, that the Conventions had not come into force.

A more elaborate examination of the subject has revealed facts like the following: that to the Convention on International Waterways, which was concluded no less than 5½ years ago, there were 27 signatures and only 11 ratifications, and as regards the Protocol for the Mutual Recognition of Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Contracts—one of the most useful, and, as I venture to think, important commercial achievements of the League—there were 27 signatures and only 12 ratifications. I venture very respectfully to state to my colleagues that we should do well to devote some of our energy to finishing what we have so well begun, even before and in preference to undertaking new responsibilities and work.

These remarks do not apply only to the commercial sphere. The Convention on the Traffic in Arms has not been ratified by a single one of the Powers which signed that Convention; 31 have signed it, and 35 Powers have signed the Protocol dealing with the employment of gas in warfare, which is attached to that Convention. As regards the Opium Convention, in which I take some personal interest, because I happened to be one of the representatives of my Government at the Conference which drew it up, though there have been 34 signatures there have been so far only six ratifications, which—I may perhaps be pardoned for remarking—all come from the British Empire.

I therefore venture to propose that we should adopt the following Resolution—or at any rate send it for consideration by a Committee:—

The Assembly:

Observing with regret that many Conventions and agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective or have only come into force after undue delay owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories;

Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of Conventions and agreements signed in their name;

And decides to invite the Council of the League to examine the possibility of appointing a Committee to consider whether any general understanding could be promoted that would secure rapid, and if possible simultaneous action by signatories of such Conventions and agreements.

I come now to the last topic on which I desire to say a few words to the Assembly, and which is a topic of some delicacy and difficulty.

On more than one occasion recently questions have been raised concerning what is, and what is not, the proper sphere of activities of the League of Nations. This is an exceedingly difficult subject, and one, I think, of very great practical importance. If you turn to the Covenant you will see that the object of the League of Nations is to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, and the Assembly and the Council are told that they can deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League affecting the peace of the world. I think everyone will agree that those indications of the sphere of action of the League are necessarily and properly, as I think, rather vague in their terms.

Different opinions may well be held as to what are proper subjects for international co-operation. Some subjects, of course, are quite clear. The question of armaments is obviously international, and one which affects the peace of the world. For many years—for a hundred years or more—the slave trade has been regarded by everyone as an international matter, and, as a consequence, slavery also, since it will never be possible to put an end to the slave trade unless an end is put to slavery. Labour conditions, I agree, do not constitute a matter with which this Assembly deals directly, for

ANNEX XI.—*Statement read by Sir Basanta Mullick in the Fifth Committee on the 22nd September 1926. (Russian and Armenian Refugee Identity Certificates.)*

As regards Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the Arrangement, the Government of India are prepared to impose a surcharge of five gold francs in respect of each issue or renewal of an identity certificate of a Russian or Armenian refugee; but they are unable without new legislation to make it obligatory on each refugee, whether he wishes to travel or not, to take out a fresh certificate of identity or to pay the surcharge every year. The Government of India propose, therefore, that the identity certificate should continue to have the same period of validity as an ordinary Indian passport and to issue it on application only. With regard to Article 12, the Government of India propose to make arrangements for the remittance of the amount realised by the surcharge from time to time; they do not, however, consider it necessary to use the proposed League of Nations stamp for the purpose as the number of Russian and Armenian refugees in India is small. As regards Articles 8 and 13, the Government of India would not be prepared to provide assistance in regard to the cost of transport and settlement of refugees.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Fifth Committee on the 17th September 1926. (Child Welfare.)*

After hearing the speech of the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, so admirable both in form and substance, I do not propose to detain the Committee long.

I should be the last man to wish to discourage work of the kind which is described in the Report of the Child Welfare Committee, but I feel obliged to point out that in the matter of child welfare, with which, in my country at least, is connected the welfare of women, we are dealing with a question in which the widest possible differences exist between different communities and nations—differences which are to a large extent natural and not conventional and which often have their roots in religion. In such a field the League of Nations should, I submit, proceed with great delicacy and circumspection.

It would diminish the beneficent influence of the League if countries which possess types of civilisation differing from the European model, but none the less having merits and traditions of their own, were to misunderstand the League's intentions and, however mistakenly, to regard the League as an organisation working for the approximation of all civilisations to that of Europe. In the second place, if the League were to attempt to draw up standards and codes applicable to and acceptable by all the countries of the world, I cannot believe, having regard to the large variety of circumstances and conditions, that such a standard would have great practical value. It would surely be necessary to omit many provisions that could and should be adopted in some countries and to include many that would not be applicable or suitable to others.

In India we are facing these problems, but we have to face them in our own way. I shall not weary you with a catalogue of recent developments in this field, but I feel obliged to put forward a few facts, the full significance of which will be readily appreciated at least by those of you who are acquainted with the East.

With reference to certain recent measures in India—measures which, though not within the actual scope of this Committee, are closely allied to our present subject—the Director of the International Labour Office reported that a vast social revolution had been realised which would have a far-reaching effect in the production of the world-wide equilibrium of social conditions. As in the industrial, so in the social sphere, great work is being done, partly official and partly private, and financial support has been provided by members of my own order and by the great landlords and merchants of India. The lead has naturally been taken by women, both by European women and ever increasingly by Indian women themselves in spite of their life-long tradition of seclusion. Owing to the system of “purdah,” or seclusion of women, the problem of extending modern medical benefits to women and children is one of special difficulty. A special problem exists and special measures have had to be applied to its solution. In addition to the munificent aid from the Provincial Governments and the facilities for training Indian lady doctors and nurses, not only in the European but also in the Oriental system of medicine, private societies have also been formed for supplying female medical aid to the women of India.

In several Provinces Acts have been passed establishing children's courts, abolishing the imprisonment of children under 14, providing for their removal from pernicious surroundings and for the approved custody of those who show a tendency to lapse into crime. Juvenile jails are in existence, and juvenile offenders may be released on bail under the custody of their parents. Bills have been passed in the Indian Legislature by non-official Members on such subjects as those of raising the age of marriage, the age of consent, lifting the ban upon widow-marriage, and for maternity benefit schemes.

My desire is to show you that beneficent movements are in progress in this particular Department of the social problem—movements that could hardly have been anticipated a generation ago. It is the promise rather than the fulfilment that I commend to your notice. Promising as they are, these movements would be liable to damage were any undue pressure applied to them. They should grow in the soil to which they belong and under the natural stimulus of the public opinion of the country.

I am anxious lest international action in these matters may be taken too precipitately, for I have personal experience of the vast difference of conditions of life in the Indian Continent itself not to speak of their difference from those of Europe. Had not the motion which Lord Cecil recently proposed in the Assembly afforded prospects of a more definite demarcation of the scope of national and international action, I might have felt obliged to press this view more strongly, but in the actual circumstances of the moment I feel myself able to support the resolution which the British delegate has moved, and I have much pleasure in doing so.

addressing you from this platform I feel it my first duty to express Germany's thanks to these two gentlemen and to the Assembly. Allow me at the same time to express our gratitude to the Swiss Government, which is now extending its traditional and generous hospitality to Germany as a Member of the League of Nations.

More than six years have passed since the League was founded. A long period of development was thus necessary before the general political situation rendered it possible for Germany to enter the League, and even in the present year great difficulties have had to be overcome before Germany's decision could be supplemented by the unanimous decision of the League. Far be it from me to revive matters which belong to the past. It is rather the task of the present generation to look to the present and to the future. I would only say this, that, although an event such as Germany's entry into the League is the outcome of a long preliminary process of development, yet that very fact constitutes perhaps a surer guarantee of its permanence and of its fruitful results.

To-day Germany enters a circle of States to some of which she has for decades been attached by unbroken ties of friendship, whereas others were allied against her during the Great War. It is surely an event of historical importance that Germany and these latter States are now brought together within the League of Nations in permanent and peaceful co-operation. It is a fact which indicates more clearly than any mere words or programmes that the League of Nations may in very truth be destined to give a new direction to the political development of mankind, and civilisation would be exposed to grave dangers indeed at the present time if the nations could obtain no assurance that they would be able to perform in peaceful and untroubled co-operation the tasks which their destiny has assigned to them.

The catastrophic events of a terrible war have recalled the conscience of mankind to a consideration of the tasks which confront the different nations. In many countries we have witnessed the ruin of whole classes of the population, who are not only valuable, but intellectually and economically indispensable to the life of the nation. We are beholding the birth of new forms of economic life and the disappearance of older ones. We see how economic life is overleaping the old national boundaries and creating new forms of international co-operation. The old economic situation of the world had no statutes, no programmes, to guide its co-operation. This co-operation was based on the unwritten law of the traditional exchange of goods between the different continents. It must be our task to restore that exchange. If we really desire the economic development of the world to proceed undisturbed, we shall not obtain that end by erecting barriers between the countries, but rather by bridging over the gulfs which hitherto have separated the different national economic systems.

But there is something which far transcends in importance all material considerations, namely, the souls of the nations themselves. There is just now a mighty stirring of ideas among the nations of the world. We see some that adhere to the principle of self-contained national unity and reject international understanding, because they do not wish to see all that has been developed on the basis of nationality superseded by a more general conception of humanity. Now I hold that no country which belongs to the League of Nations thereby surrenders any of its national individuality. The Divine Architect of the world has not created mankind as a homogeneous whole. He has made the nations of different races; He has given them their mother tongue as the sanctuary of their soul; He has given them countries with different characteristics as their homes. But it cannot be the purpose of the Divine world-order that men should direct their supreme national energies against one another, thus ever thrusting back the general progress of civilisation. He will serve humanity best who, firmly rooted in the faith of his own people, develops his moral and intellectual gifts to the utmost, thus overstepping his own national boundaries, and serving the whole world, as has been done by those great men of all nations whose names are writ large in the history of mankind.

Thus the ideals of nationality and of humanity may unite on the intellectual plane, and they may similarly unite in pursuit of political ideals, provided that there is the will to make common progress in this field.

The political outcome of these ideals is a moral obligation on the part of the different countries to devote their efforts to peaceful co-operation. This moral obligation also applies to the great moral problems of humanity. No other law should be applied to their solution than that of justice.

The co-operation of the peoples in the League of Nations must and will lead to just solutions for the moral questions which arise in the conscience of the peoples. The most durable foundation of peace is a policy inspired by mutual understanding and mutual respect between nation and nation.

Even before her entry into the League, Germany endeavoured to promote this friendly co-operation. The action which she took and which led to the Pact of Locarno is a proof of this, and as further evidence there are the arbitration treaties which she has concluded with almost all her neighbours. The German Government is resolved to persevere unswervingly in this line of policy, and is glad to see that these ideas, which at first met with lively opposition in Germany, are now becoming more and more deeply rooted in the conscience of the German people. Thus the German Government may well speak for the great majority of the German race when it declares that it will wholeheartedly devote itself to the duties devolving upon the League of Nations.

During the past six years the League has already taken in hand a substantial portion of these tasks, and has done most valuable work. The German Delegation does not possess the experience which the members here assembled have acquired. We believe, however, that, as regards the new work which lies before us, the subjects dealt with first should be those in which the individual nations can do most by combining in joint institutions. Among other institutions which the League has created, we have in mind the World Court, which is the outcome of efforts made to establish an international legal order.

Furthermore, the efforts made towards disarmament are of particular importance for the consolidation of organised international peace. The complete disarmament of Germany was stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles as a preliminary to general disarmament. It is to be hoped that practical steps will be taken to further this general disarmament, and thereby furnish evidence that the lofty ideals of the League of Nations already contain within them the seeds of a great positive force.

Germany's relations to the League are not, however, confined exclusively to the possibilities of co-operation in general aims and issues. In many respects the League is the heir and executor of the Treaties of 1919. Out of these Treaties there have arisen in the past, I may say frankly, many differences between the League and Germany. I hope that our co-operation within the League will make it easier in future to discuss these questions. In this respect mutual confidence will, from a political point of view, be found a greater creative force than anything else. It would, indeed, be incompatible with the ideals of the League to group its Members according to whether they are viewed with sympathy or with antipathy by other Members.

In this connection I reject most emphatically the idea that the attitude hitherto adopted by Germany in matters concerning the League of Nations has been dictated by such sympathies or antipathies. Germany desires to co-operate on the basis of mutual confidence with all nations represented in the League or upon the Council.

The League has not yet attained its ideal, which is to include all the Powers of the world. Germany's entry into the League does, it is true, constitute an important step towards its universality. But we desire at the same time to express our deep regret that Brazil has manifested her intention to withdraw from it. We regret this more particularly because we believe that if the League is to be world-wide, one continent alone should not have a predominant influence within it. Furthermore, we share with the other Members of the League the firm hope that we may retain the valuable co-operation of Spain. We are convinced that the appeal which has been addressed to Spain by all the Powers will reveal to that great country and its people how detrimental it would be to the high ideals of which Spain has been a leading champion if she were long absent from Geneva at this period.

Universality alone can protect the League against the danger of using its political forces for other purposes than in the service of peace. Only on the basis of a community of all nations, without distinction and on a footing of perfect equality, can mutual assistance and justice become the true guiding stars of the destiny of mankind. Upon this foundation alone can that principle of freedom be set for which nations and individuals alike are constantly striving. Germany is firmly resolved to found her policy upon these lofty ideals. To all the nations assembled here we can apply the words of that great thinker who said that we belong to a generation which strives from darkness towards the light. It is our fervent hope that the tasks of the League may be fulfilled on the basis of the noble conceptions of peace, freedom and unity. So shall we draw nearer the ideals to which we aspire, and it is the firm resolve of Germany to assist wholeheartedly in that task.

ANNEX III.—*Report of a Speech by His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (France) in the Assembly on the 10th September 1926.*

I sincerely thank my colleagues on the General Committee of the Assembly for having allowed the delegate of France to follow the distinguished representative of Germany on this platform, to welcome the German Delegation on its entry into this Assembly, and to assure you that we are resolved to collaborate with that delegation, cordially and sincerely, in the work of international pacification. My colleagues on the General Committee doubtless realised—and I thank them for it—that the presence of the delegate of France on this platform at this moment, after the eloquent and lofty words which you have just heard, would perhaps do something to emphasise the character of this occasion and make clear its significance, its consequences and all the hopes which the peoples of the world rightly centre in it.

Those who indulge in irony and detraction at the expense of the League of Nations, who daily cast doubt upon its soundness and time after time proclaim that it is doomed to perish, what will they think if they are present at this meeting? Is it not a moving spectacle, and a specially ennobling and comforting one, when we think that only a few years after the most frightful war which has ever devastated the world, when the battlefields have hardly ceased to reek with blood, the peoples, the same peoples who were hurled in combat against each other, are meeting in this peaceful Assembly and are expressing to each other their common will to collaborate in the work of world peace?

What a renewal of hope for the nations! From this day on how many mothers will look at their children without feeling their hearts contract with fear.

Peace for Germany and for France: that means that we have done with the long series of terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history. We have done with the black veils of mourning for sufferings that can never be appeased, done with war, done with brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes. True, differences between us still exist, but henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure. Away with rifles, machine-guns, cannon! Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace!

Countries do not go down to history as great solely through the heroism of their sons on the battlefield or the victories that they gain there. It is a far greater tribute to their greatness if, faced with difficulties, in the midst of circumstances in which anger all but drowns the voice of reason, they can stand firm, be patient and appeal to right to safeguard their just interests.

Gentlemen of the German Delegation, our nations need give no further proof of their strength or of their heroism. Both nations have shown their prowess on the battlefield, and both have reaped an ample harvest of military glory. Henceforth they may seek laurels in other fields.

For many months now M. Stresemann and myself have been working together at the same task. He had every confidence; so had I. I do not regret that confidence; I trust that he also will have no occasion to regret it. With the help of a man whose noble and generous spirit and sincerity are known to you all—I refer to my colleague and friend the first delegate of the British Empire, Sir Austen Chamberlain—we have worked together. Both of us needed all our courage in our endeavour to reach a goal which was then so distant. As the crow flies, Locarno and Geneva are not far distant, but the road between them is by no means easy. It has to pass round many obstacles, and since we all admire faith when it moves mountains, we should certainly feel pride in the faith that has brought the Lake of Locarno so near to the Lake of Geneva.

If at the outset we had allowed ourselves to lose heart; if, influenced by the expressions of doubt, hesitation and mistrust emitted by some in our countries, we had gone no further, all would have been at an end. Far from taking a further step towards peace, the seeds of renewed mistrust would have been sown between countries already divided.

I have perhaps the right, speaking from this platform, to feel a special pride in having taken part in to-day's manifestation, for I have the great satisfaction of seeing in it the outcome of a personal effort—although that, of course, is a small matter—and above all I foresee that there will henceforth be no possibility of a repetition of the terrible events which we have witnessed in recent years.

Before we could arrive at the stage we have reached to-day, certain difficult problems had to be settled by means of private negotiations. In point of fact, these negotiations were recommended by previous Assemblies, which displayed remarkable political insight and realised that, if certain *rapprochements* were not made outside the League of Nations, if certain concessions could not be obtained from both sides, if certain conversations could not be held in preparation of solutions to be submitted to you, the task we were jointly pursuing would never be accomplished.

At the last Assembly we came very close to the danger-spot. I am glad now that at the time I never doubted of the final result, and that it was I who caused the special Assembly to adopt the motion which enabled the German representatives to leave Geneva in the certainty that morally Germany's application had been unanimously accepted by the Assembly.

In the interval we discussed matters, and we prepared for solutions by conciliation. This kind of work, I hasten to add, does not partake of the true spirit of the League of Nations. In the League everything must be done in public and in collaboration with all the nations belonging to it. I can now proclaim, with the certainty that I shall not be contradicted by my friends, that in future it will no longer be necessary to resort to proceedings of this nature.

All the Members of the League of Nations, great and small, without distinction, must collaborate with a view to attaining the objects laid down in the Covenant.

If, during these difficult times through which we have passed, some of you have felt perhaps that it was our intention not to admit you to a share in our decisions, let me persuade you that you have been mistaken. No one is more firmly resolved than the delegates of France that in future the work of the League shall be done in the light of day and with the collaboration of all its Members.

I have no fault to find with the remarks made by the representative of Germany concerning his conception of collaboration with us on the League. As regards the delegate of France, I may say that the German Delegation can be sure of finding in him a loyal collaborator.

The fact that we are both present in this Assembly and that, on the plane of the ideal, we can hold communion with one another does not destroy existing obstacles. Such obstacles still exist, as you, Sir, so tactfully indicated. Of this fact I am fully aware. M. Stresemann and I, each in our respective countries, are in a position which enables us to perceive those obstacles, and the mere fact that he has left the Wilhelmstrasse and I the Quai d'Orsay to meet here in the fair city of Geneva does not mean that these difficulties have disappeared through the goodwill manifested in our words.

It is sufficient, however, if both of us, voicing deep-rooted feeling in our countries—and I can assure you that it is the feeling of my country—have the will to meet these various difficulties, firmly resolved to settle them by conciliatory means. That is enough to prevent any dispute between us from becoming an armed conflict.

It is especially those peoples who have not always been in agreement who have most need of the League of Nations; for if it is true that there may be some divine plan whereby the nations are prevented from making war on one another, M. Stresemann will readily agree that, during the long years of the past, this plan has been singularly disregarded. I should like to see it applied from to-day onwards, and you may be sure that I will do nothing to prevent it. I simply wish to say this: If you are here as a German and only as a German, and if I am here as a Frenchman and only as a Frenchman, agreement will not be easy. But if we come here, not forgetting our respective countries, yet as citizens sharing in the universal work of the League, all will be well, and we shall attain spiritual communion with our colleagues in the atmosphere peculiar to Geneva.

You said, Sir, that you were inexperienced; that will not be for long. You possess intuition, the statesman's supreme quality—this your speech has clearly proved—and you have the sensitive perception which enables you to realise the spirit of the League.

I have often arrived at Geneva, or in some other town where the Council of the League was sitting, with the helpless feeling of being at grips with problems impossible of solution and confronted with the comments of the Press and of politicians which sometimes serve to render them more obscure. On such occasions I have often said to myself that we should separate without coming to an agreement or finding a solution. But a solution has always been found, because, directly we were seated opposite one another, under the safeguard of the Covenant, infected by the spirit of the place, ennobled in one another's eyes by our great purpose, realising the moral responsibility which weighed upon us not only toward our individual nations but the whole world, we readjusted our minds, we made a supreme effort, and at the most critical moment, just when a solution appeared to be escaping us for ever, we were able, by a kind of miracle which I will not attempt to explain, to reach an agreement, to the amazement of all and particularly of those who perhaps had not desired the success of our endeavours.

But such a result could only be attained upon one condition, which I am now going to put before you. It is a condition which applies no less to myself than to you all, for I, like any other statesman, am not strong enough to resist committing that kind of error. I have in the past been guilty of many such errors, and I trust that what I am going to say will be taken not as advice but largely as a confession.

There are two spirits in which delegates may come to Geneva: the objective spirit and the fighting spirit. If the League takes on the semblance of a kind of tourney; if, under the stimulus of polemical debates or actuated by an overheated national sense of pride, we come here as champions to fight, with the desire to gain the perilous successes of prestige, then all will be spoilt. Victories of prestige bring no result save in appearance. Think of the havoc they have wrought in the past! Prestige stimulates the imagination, aggravates selfish interests, urges States to feverish demonstrations of national pride and incites them to oppose the statesmen, who then lose the guiding

rein of reason and the power to find moderate solutions. It is impossible for statesmen, under such conditions, to work in a spirit of conciliation. They face one another like wrestlers in the ring, with war; it is a spirit which must not exist—least of all in the League.

For my part, I promise to do my best to avoid bringing this spirit here, and I count on the intelligence, the pacific spirit and the lofty sentiments of the *German delegates* to do the same.

If we are egged on against each other, if we are urged in interviews and speeches to oppose each other, we must put aside all such temptations; let us thrust them far from us! That is the road of blood, the road of the past, covered with the dead, the road of mourning, of destruction and disaster. It is not our road.

Henceforth our road is to be one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness for our countries if we induce them to lay aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their own desires in the service of world-peace. This sacrifice will not diminish, it will increase their prestige.

When Europe has regained its economic and moral equilibrium, when the peoples realise their security, they will then be able to cast away the heavy burdens imposed by the dread of war, they will be able to work together to improve their respective positions. There will arise at last a European spirit which will not be born of war, and will for that reason be nobler, loftier and more worthy of admiration.

It is for us to make this effort. It is easy to blame the peoples, but it is generally their leaders who are to blame. It is they who should know how to control themselves, who should have a proper understanding of events and should always interpret them in a spirit favourable to efforts of conciliation.

Arbitration! That word is now at the height of its prestige and its power. Arbitration treaties are increasing; nation after nation is promising to abjure war and to accept intermediaries. Peace is making its way through all these undertakings. The spirit of the League is at the root of them; and for that reason all nations should devote themselves heart and soul to the League's defence. It should be sheltered from all attacks and placed above all other considerations.

With the League goes Peace! Without it, the menace of war and blood from which the peoples have suffered too long!

This day should be commemorated with a white stone. The words of collaboration which Germany and France have just exchanged in a like spirit of sincerity should be marked with a white stone—and I for one will never change the colour of that stone.

And now, apologising for having presumed upon your patience so long, may I say that the League has to day, by the entry of Germany, made another step towards its object—universality. Although this is a cause for rejoicing, our joy is darkened by the fact that two great nations of the League are no longer with us.

I endorse your remarks both as regards Brazil and Spain. These two great countries were deeply imbued with the spirit which animates us all; they have rendered many services to the League in difficult circumstances. It is therefore not surprising that even our joy at to-day's event should be tinged with regret at their absence. But we do not give up hope, and I am deeply convinced that soon we shall see the representatives of Spain and Brazil among us once again.

The League is not going back; its future will be one of constant expansion. To-day it has taken one step forward; to-morrow it will take another. Our presence, both yours and ours, is of great significance.

I am glad to have been able to take part in this event. It will, I am sure, take a great place in history. It is for us to ensure that no imprudence on the part of any of us will endanger the hopes of the peoples of the world.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of a Speech by M. de Brouckère (Belgium) in the Assembly on the 25th September 1926. (Report of the Sixth Committee on Mandates.)*

The Sixth Committee has adopted and now submits to the Assembly the following Resolution:—

The Assembly:

Having taken cognisance of the report to the Council relating to the mandated territories and of the discussion on the subject which has taken place in the Council;

And having heard the Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission:

Thanks the Permanent Mandates Commission for the devotion and the zeal with which it has carried out its delicate task;

Has confidence in the members of this Commission as well as in the Members of the Council to ensure the application of the principles of Article 22 of the Covenant in a cordial spirit of co-operation with the Mandatory Powers.

Such is the very brief report drafted after somewhat lengthy proceedings, which were marked at times by a certain animation but were inspired throughout by the loftiest sentiments.

I have already acquainted you with the conclusions reached by the Committee as the result of its proceedings. It is not for me as *Rapporteur* to give an official account of the various arguments advanced. Anyone interested in the question will find them in the Minutes. At the same time I shall not, I think, be exceeding my duty if, in a verbal report engaging only my personal responsibility, I endeavour briefly to set forth those ideas upon which I feel—indeed, I am convinced—that the Sixth Committee was unanimous.

In the first place, we were all agreed in testifying most gratefully to the zeal and devotion displayed by the members of the Mandates Commission in the performance of a difficult task. Certain doubts on this point have been expressed, not in the League, but among the public. The proceedings of the Sixth Committee, following on the very clear and definite statements of the Members of the Council, will serve to dispel these doubts once and for all.

The members of the Mandates Commission have a supremely difficult task to fulfil.

They have to obtain detailed information concerning the most varied kinds of peoples. That is a singularly thankless task, since they are never called upon for assistance when things are going well,

but are nevertheless obliged to intervene whenever there is the menace of a dispute calling for settlement. Lastly, their duties are, I need hardly say, of a particularly delicate nature.

With the years of experience behind us we can testify that, no matter how difficult their task, they have always succeeded in performing it with credit to themselves.

There is a second point on which unanimous agreement was reached, and it calls for special mention. I refer to the importance universally attached to the work for which the Mandates Commission is responsible. No one dreams of under-estimating that work or of restricting the Commission's powers, which are clearly defined in the last paragraph of Article 22 of the Covenant:—

“A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.”

I might remind you that this general provision was further defined and elucidated by the famous report which we owe to one whose presence for many years shed a special lustre on the Belgian Delegation; I refer to M. Paul Hymans.

As you are all aware, the League is directly involved in the administration of the mandates. It is specifically laid down in Article 22 that States entrusted with the duty of tutelage shall exercise such tutelage as Mandatories on behalf of the League. This means that the League can never divest itself of its responsibility in regard to the way in which the mandate is exercised.

Nor must it be forgotten that this task involves the application of an entirely novel principle, and the regulation of the relations between the mandated territory and the mandatory Power on the one hand and between the League itself and the mandatory Powers on the other. It is obvious that the adjustment of relations of such recent growth cannot be brought to perfection in a day. Such a task calls for long experience, and until that experience has been acquired the only means whereby the various interests can be reconciled and the necessary co-operation established is to continue to act with tact and circumspection, a rule, I repeat, to which the Mandates Commission has constantly adhered.

That body, it should be noted again, has clearly affirmed its intention to carry out its mission, but not as a body of magistrates examining persons lying under a charge, since the mere fact of giving a State a mandate and entrusting it with the execution of so high a mission constitutes a proof of confidence which must carry with it certain implications. No, the Mandates Commission has openly proclaimed its intention of collaborating with the mandatory Powers. Collaboration does not preclude advice or even criticism, provided that the criticism is constructive and designed to help the Mandatory to do better.

One word more. Two definite questions occupied the special attention of the Sixth Committee, the first being that of the questionnaire. You know what that means. The Mandates Commission drew up a questionnaire a long time ago, in order to assist the mandatory Powers in drawing up the annual report to be submitted under Article 22 of the Covenant. It is now proposed to revise this questionnaire. Naturally, such a step cannot be taken until the mandatory States have been consulted. This is now being done and I have no doubt that the conciliatory attitude to which I have just referred will result in complete agreement being reached between the mandatory States and the Mandates Commission.

As regards the reorganisation of the right of petition, I would emphasise the Commission's very explicit declaration that it had never contemplated the establishment of a system conferring upon petitioners any unilateral right to be heard.

In this connection I desire to make the following statement, not in my capacity as *rapporteur*, but as delegate of Belgium.

I desire to state that my Government maintains intact its original view as to the exercise of the right of petition. It cannot agree to any system whereby the mandatory Powers could be arraigned. It does not, however, reject *a priori* a procedure by which the Commission would be empowered, in certain strictly defined cases, to carry out investigations and to hear the statements of both parties.

I have no more to say. The word “crisis” has been used in connection with the meeting of the Council at which the report of the Mandates Commission was discussed. It has become the fashion to employ that word in connection with all the League's activities. It is perfectly true that discussions do sometimes take place in the League, and that these discussions are sometimes more heated than used to be the case. What is the reason? It is that the League has grown into a more tangible reality, and that the concrete interests of the nations are more closely affected.

But this, as has often been pointed out, is simply a phenomenon of growth. When an organisation is in process of development, fresh problems crop up and old problems reappear in a different form. The overcoming of such obstacles and difficulties constitutes the very life-blood of any organisation. Progress will not be achieved simply by following the course of events peacefully and, if I may say so, apathetically, but by surmounting difficulties, just as the human body overcomes its physical disabilities. This organic determination to rise above difficulties and expand is perhaps the most vital factor both in physical and in moral well-being.

It was Anatole France, I think, who once defined the will by likening it to the persistent determination of the tree to burst into leaf in the springtime.

The League will triumph over difficulties, great and small alike, because mankind remains persistent in its determination to blossom forth in the coming springtime of peace and justice.

ANNEX V.—Report of a Speech by M. Hambro (Norway) in the Assembly on the 25th September 1926. (Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.)

Before I make a few general remarks upon the budget which has been laid before us, I want to associate myself with the observations which were made by the distinguished delegate from Great Britain, Viscount Cecil, some while ago, and to call attention to the hurried way in which we have had to pass even the budget for the League of Nations, and I should like to call attention to Rule 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which states that: “As a general rule, no proposal shall

be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all representatives not later than the day preceding the meeting." We have been voting all the afternoon documents which have been placed before the delegates this very afternoon. We even had to pass by one item on the agenda because the draft resolution was not printed, and I would also like to call attention to what is stated in Rule 14, para. 6, of the Rules of Procedure, which says that each Committee "shall keep a register of its discussions and minutes, which shall be published at the earliest possible date, but not until they have been approved by the Committee. They may at any time be consulted by any Member of the Assembly." I know, Mr. President, that it can be answered by saying that all delegations are represented on every Committee. But I want to call attention to the fact that we have been obliged to comply with the wishes of the Bureau and to have meetings of our Committee while the Assembly was in session here and when Members of our Committee had to be here. We finished our work this morning in the Committee, after a two hours' session, but all the draft resolutions have not yet been printed; some of them have been distributed without being printed. I do not raise any formal objection to this mode of procedure, but I call the attention of all the Members of the League and the attention of the Bureau to it, and I wish to add that why I personally do not object is because I have the greatest trust in the financial organs of the League of Nations whose work we have been discussing in my Committee, and because I have full confidence in the work done by the Supervisory Committee, and because I think that all the Members of the Sixth Committee also have the greatest confidence and trust in the work done by our *rapporteur*. But I think it is necessary to remind the Bureau of the Rules of Procedure, and to remind them of the words spoken by the President of the Second Assembly, that he presided in the spirit that we should comply on every point with the Rules of Procedure and the resolutions passed by the Assembly.

We have been discussing here in what way to raise interest in the work of the League of Nations, and in what way to create respect for the dignity of the Assembly and to make propaganda. I want to say that there is no better propaganda than the work done in the Assembly and by the Assembly, and if we cannot interest the Members of the Assembly and if we cannot interest the Bureau, how can we interest the public, and how can we interest the Press? To-day we have seen the opinions which have been circulated in the Press as to what is felt by public opinion; I will not dwell upon it, but I will mention what impression this procedure, this rushing of things, this informal way of doing things which no parliament which sends delegates here would do, must make upon new delegates that come here, like myself, for the first time to the Assembly of the League of Nations with the very highest conceptions of its dignity and of the high moral character of the work done here.

I had certain reservations with regard to the draft resolution on the budget, but I am not going to take up any of these reservations here. I think it is needless. I have called attention to certain things in the Committee, and that will be sufficient for the moment. But I want to emphasise the two things which have found expression in the report submitted by the Fourth Committee to the Assembly. I might emphasise the need of all small nations, and all distant nations, for a better representation on the Secretariat and on the Bureau of International Labour. I do not criticise and I do not complain, and especially as my country has no reason to complain. I do not complain because I know what they have felt, as I think we all have felt, when we have met members of the Secretariat, the spirit of the League of Nations; we have felt an independence of national aspirations; we have met in eagerness to further the work of the League of Nations, so that no member of the staff will be hurt by the words that I have uttered.

But it is a fact that all those nations who are not French-speaking or English-speaking are under a disadvantage when they want to be represented on the personnel of the staff, and I ask you to remember, and also remember it on the Council when you appoint the superior officers of the League, that we are constantly labouring under a difficulty in being unable to speak our own language and having to try to express our thoughts in a language which we but imperfectly command. I am satisfied with the remarks made by the Secretary-General and inserted in the Report that only for certain classes of the staff of the Secretariat shall a perfect knowledge of the two languages be made a condition. Qualifications will be taken into consideration which are independent of language. But I want to call the attention of the Council to the fact that when they are now going to appoint new superior officers of the League and Under Secretaries of Chiefs of Sections they will have to take care not to give the world at large the impression that only the subjects and citizens of the Great Powers shall have the opportunity to fill those positions. I want to remind you of the fact that in the Mixed Courts of Justice in Egypt the small nations have been privileged, because it was felt that they were more likely to be politically impartial; and I want to remind you of the fact that at the Permanent Court of Justice the first President was a Dutchman and the second President was a native of the country whose guests we are, which is proof enough that where people are under perfectly equal conditions the men of the small nations have an opportunity to obtain the posts that we all want them to have.

I also wish to remind the Council of the fact that it is rather difficult perhaps for the Council to understand the full importance of these considerations, and perhaps it is also difficult for a good many Members of the Assembly. There are so large a number of Delegates Members of the Council who are ambassadors or ministers to Paris or London that they have a perfect command of one of those languages which are the official languages of the Assembly, but still they have to remember the importance for every delegate who comes here to be able to meet on the staff some man or woman who can understand him when he is talking his own language and asking for help in his own language.

I am perfectly confident that the leaders of the Bureaux will do everything in their power, as has been promised and as is stated in this Report. I am convinced that one of the great dangers for the League of Nations and its work would be undue impatience. I prefer the idea of proceeding by fractions of an inch rather than taking any step which we might afterwards have to retract. I know the obstacles of pride and prejudice and prestige that have to be overcome in these questions, but I have spoken these words with the feeling that, being the delegate of a nation which is in the happy position of living in friendship with every neighbouring nation, and never having had any claim upon the League of Nations, we are also under the duty of trying to express the wishes which are felt by the delegations of all the small nations, but which not every delegation can feel it politically wise to give expression to from this rostrum.

APPENDIX V.

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I am perfectly confident that the leaders of the Bureaux will do everything in their power, as has been promised and as is stated in this Report. I am convinced that one of the great dangers for the League of Nations and its work would be undue impatience. I prefer the idea of proceeding by fractions of an inch rather than taking any step which we might afterwards have to retract. I know the obstacles of pride and prejudice and prestige that have to be overcome in these questions, but I have spoken these words with the feeling that, being the delegate of a nation which is in the happy position of living in friendship with every neighbouring nation, and never having had any claim upon the League of Nations, we are also under the duty of trying to express the wishes which are felt by the delegations of all the small nations, but which not every delegation can feel it politically wise to give expression to from this rostrum.